

# IN THESE TIMES



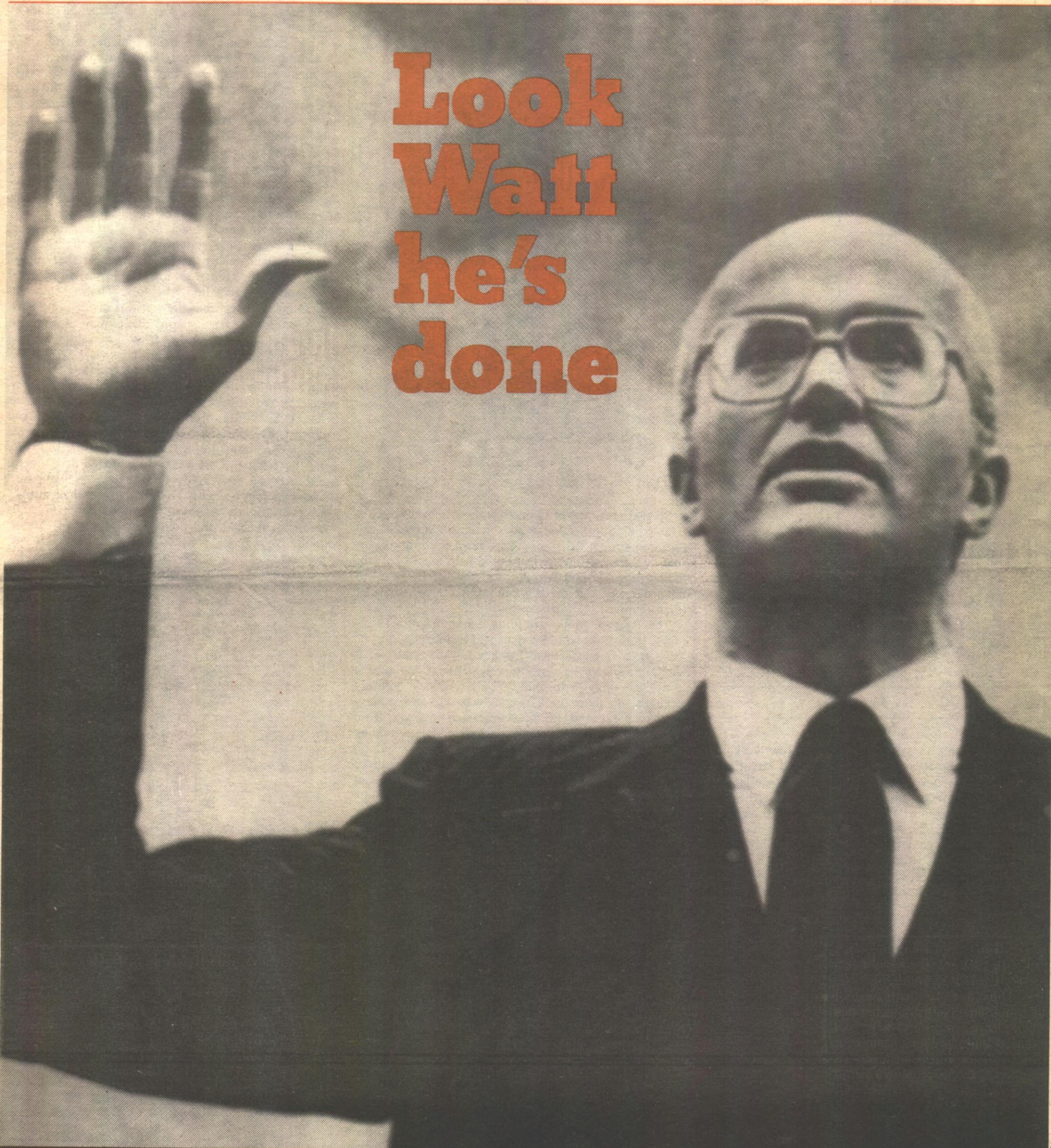
Democratic Socialists of America's  
first convention

**Page 5**

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\$1.25



**Look  
Watt  
he's  
done**

Only time will tell the cost of  
James Watt's policies as Interior Secretary.

**Page 3**



# THE INSIDE STORY

usually ranged around \$2.6 billion. But TransAfrica recently released a copy of a State Department cable from Johannesburg suggesting that U.S. financial involvement—including direct investment, banking, lending and portfolio investment—probably totals more than \$14.6 billion. Whatever the figure, U.S. capital is involved in several strategic areas.

## The only hope.

Even moderate black South African leaders argue that international economic sanctions may be South Africa's only hope for peaceful change. In June, Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, called on the international business community to put greater pressure on his country's government. "Apartheid must never become respectable and something the world is prepared to condone," he said.

Instead, the U.S. has essentially acquiesced to South Africa's insistence on linking Namibian independence with a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, although observers agree the Cuban troops cannot leave safely as long as South Africa continually invades oil-rich socialist Angola. Today South African troops occupy large sections of southern Angola and threaten to press north toward the capital at Luanda.

Cuban troops are apparently kept out of direct fighting with South African forces, but they play a major role in training the Angolan army—which at independence in 1975 did not have soldiers who knew how to drive tanks or fire mortars.

## Short-sighted definition.

The Reagan administration seems to define the issues in Southern Africa, as elsewhere, in terms of an East-West conflict, rather than recognizing that the situation has its own internal dynamics. Grants to small black businessmen—who represent a tiny minority of South Africa's 28 million blacks—are meant to build up the ideal of free enterprise and give some blacks a stake in retaining the present system. At the same time, the CIA is widely believed to have tried to push the growing black trade union movement in an economic direction, largely through courses at the AFL-CIO's African American Labor Center. The AALC was set up by Irving Brown and is now run by Nana Mahomo. Both men are known to be linked to the intelligence agency.

But more and more black South Africans appear to view the entrenched system of racial capitalism, not creeping socialism, as the real enemy. At the August launching of the United Democratic Front, a new anti-government organization, the Rev. Thabo Mokwena told 15,000 listeners that the world is divided into East and West, with Africa shaped like a question mark in the middle. "We in South Africa," he said, "are the base of the questionmark. The West wants to exploit and oppress the people of the world, and the East is saying no. We here in the questionmark are going to answer that question."

The U.S. failure to criticize the South African government's aggression against its own people is increasingly seen as constituting an expression of sympathy with the regime. Last year, John Dugard, a liberal South African lawyer, wrote that at a certain point, silence becomes consent. The Reagan administration's silence on South Africa's record of repression, he wrote, has reached the point of consent to a brutal, exploitative regime.



For details, see page 7

**This is not a fairy tale**

(ISSN 0160-5992)

## New Reagan policies increase U.S. ties with South Africa

By Jan Pager

JOHANNESBURG

Three events in rapid succession a few weeks ago underlined the Reagan administration's intention to increase U.S. ties with South Africa—in defiance of calls for an international boycott of the apartheid regime—and to support "free enterprise" in the region.

On September 29, South African newspapers reported that the U.S. government will probably allow American corporations to help run South Africa's first nuclear power plant at Koeberg. The reports claimed that Westinghouse is slated to win the 10-year, \$50-million Koeberg contract, but said Babcock and Wilcox, Bechtel and Fluor are also in the running now that the U.S. State Department has ruled the technology needed by the power plant will not aid weapons production.

Then on October 2 it was revealed that the U.S. Department of Commerce has quietly opened a trade office in Johannesburg, aiming to strengthen trade ties with South Africa. Stanley M. McGeehan, who will run the office, said his department's foreign commercial service "hopes to increase trade by one billion dollars annually."

Finally, on October 3 it was announced that the U.S. Agency for International Development has given \$3 million for management courses for black businessmen. U.S. Ambassador Herman Nickel said, "It is appropriate that the U.S., as the world's foremost exponent of free enterprise, should assist black businessmen to increase their skills in the competitive market place."

Until Reagan came to power, recent U.S. governments had discouraged or downplayed trade with South Africa. But the Reagan administration has relaxed many of the restrictions earlier administrations had placed on trade with South Africa, and today the U.S. is one of South Africa's biggest trading partners. U.S. sales to South Africa have tripled in the past five years, reaching nearly \$2.7 billion in 1982. The U.S. has been one of South Africa's best customers for several years. Last year South African sales to the U.S.—excluding gold bullion, which makes up more than 50 percent of South Africa's export earnings, and other strategic minerals such as uranium—totalled about \$1.3 billion.

Estimates of U.S. investments in South Africa have

Several years ago in London—where he was not constrained by South African laws making it illegal to call for international sanctions—Tutu rejected the argument that new foreign investment could help blacks by providing jobs. He said at that time, "We do not want to have our shackles made more comfortable, we want them removed."

The Reagan administration's blatant efforts to increase trade links with the apartheid regime is part of its "constructive engagement" policy toward South Africa. Overlooking the ways in which foreign investment and trade may help build South Africa's military strength and shore up a flagging economy, the administration argues the U.S. must approach apartheid from a friendly position, not an antagonistic one. Claiming that Carter's open criticism of South Africa's human rights record alienated a valuable ally and reduced America's ability to put pressure on the South African government, Reagan and Assistant Secretary of State Chester A. Crocker have refused to censor either apartheid, South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia or its repeated invasions of neighboring states.

## IN THESE TIMES

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# Watt's two flaws: style and substance

By Tom Turner

**H**E PROVIDED THE BEST copy since Earl Butz. He was a cartoonist's delight, with his thick glasses and shiny pate. He filled the coffers and swelled the membership rolls of environmental organizations. And he left behind him a devastated agency and an American landscape considerably the worse for his efforts. He said when he finally went he would go down in flames, and so he did—with Republican senators firing many of the surface-to-air missiles.

James Gaius Watt will be remembered for his inability to stop goading his detractors, heaping on them what the *Los Angeles Times* called "unremitting derision." Anyone who disagreed with Jim Watt was an enemy of the United States—an enemy of freedom. And Watt rose to rhetorical heights to sneer at them.

But what may go less noted is the substance of what he did to the agency he led and to the American earth. The picture is not pretty.

Watt's rise was what is often called meteoric. He grew up on the plains of Wyoming, went to school, college and law school there, and at 24 found himself staff coordinator and chief speechwriter for the arch-conservative Senator Milward Simpson of Wyoming. Simpson was appointed to the Senate Interior Committee, and Watt was his chief aide on Interior matters.

From there, Watt first worked as lobbyist for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, then spent seven years in two positions in the Interior Department and later a couple of years on the Federal Power Commission.

When the Department of Energy was created, it absorbed the FPC and Watt moved West to start the anti-environmentalist Mountain States Legal Foundation, whose purpose, as he told the Senate Interior Committee during his confirmation hearings, was to "counterbalance those who use our judicial system to restrict economic growth and to defend individuals and the private sector from illegal and excessive bureaucratic regulation. The foundation is dedicated to the values and concepts of individual freedom, our right to private property and the private enterprise system."

These were early clues of what to expect from the Watt regime. There were others as well. Repeatedly during his time at Mountain States, Watt had hit the rubber-chicken circuit, and his theme was often that the environmental movement had been taken over by a bunch of extremists who didn't care a whit about the environment but rather wanted to impose a centralized, authoritarian government on the citizens of this country.

There is little doubt that he believed what he said, but his constituency was smaller than he thought it was. When pollsters began to add up all the people who disagreed with one aspect or another of Watt's policies, it seemed that a huge majority of the country was, by Watt's definition, extremist. His reign at Interior was controversial even before it began.

Ironically, the pithiest observation about Watt came from conservative columnist George Will more than a year ago: "There are only two things wrong with Jim Watt—his style and his substance."

Reading through miles of files, it is sobering to remember just how many times Watt's style consisted of putting his foot in his mouth. Indeed, it is a wonder he survived as long as he did. Among the more memorable of his stunts:

- He wrote to the Israel ambassador to the U.S., saying that if American Jews

didn't support Watt's policies, the U.S. might have to withdraw its support of Israel.

- He ordered his staff not to meet with "paid representatives" of professional environmental organizations.

- He used the Lee House in Arlington National Cemetery for a private party and charged the whole thing to the government. (He later returned the money, but with typical gracelessness.)

- He kept his schedule a deep secret, apparently not wanting to confront demonstrators any more than necessary. He never made a public appearance in the San Francisco Bay Area, for example, where the environmental movement is particularly strong.

- He told a crowd in Fresno, Calif., that he never uses the terms "Democrats and Republicans...it's liberals and Americans."

- He likened supporters of abortion to the Nazis who perpetrated the Holocaust.

- He booted several scientists off an Interior Department advisory panel because they were Democrats.

- And in his least important but perhaps most damaging act (before the final gaffe), he told the Beach Boys to stay away from the Mall on July 4 because they would attract undesirable elements. The undesirables turned out to include the First Lady.

And that's just the lowlights of a truly astonishing record.

## Assessing the damage.

But the substance half of the ledger is, in the end, far more important. Just how much damage did Watt inflict? The record is mixed. Owing as much to his obnoxious style as to his odd mix of corporate socialism and social ultraconservatism, many of Watt's initiatives were stymied by Congress or by various courts. In the long run, time will tell how serious the damage is. Meanwhile, here's a summary of what he tried to do:

- Combining style with substance, on his first day on the job Watt summoned the staff of the Interior Department into the department's big auditorium and sacked all non-civil service employees, "effective immediately." Washington hands were shocked: never had there been so thorough a partisan house cleaning. These were political employees, to be sure, but many were apolitical professionals who had toiled in Interior for many years. And that, of course, is what Watt wanted to accomplish. He set out to remake Interior in his own image. To do so, he replaced all of senior management with his own people.

- Next, with typical candor, Watt outlined to a group of national park concessioners how he would accomplish his program without bothering to get permission from Congress: simply use the budget. Starve programs you want to play down and sell it as part of the Reagan austerity budget.

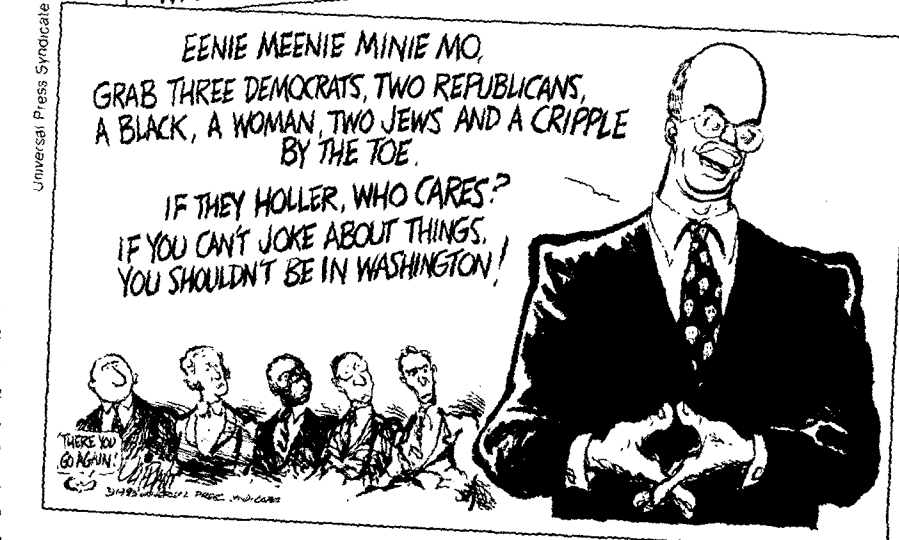
In just two examples of many, he requested no money to buy new park land, and when Congress gave him some anyway, he refused to spend it. He slashed the budget of the Endangered Species Office, and crippled it so much that no new species were "listed" for Watt's first two years in office.

How many species will be extinguished by this inaction? How many acres of potential park land will be lost forever to bulldozers and oil-drillers? Time will tell.

- Then came the attempt to "privatize" parts of the public domain, to give authority over other parts to states and local jurisdictions and to sell public resources at rock-bottom prices. The outright sale of public lands to private investors has not proceeded quickly, owing to the public outcry. It remains to be seen if

Q. How much power does it take to screw up the environment...?

A.  one watt...



Watt's successor will try again, but it seems doubtful.

Likewise, turning land over to states and cities has not gotten very far, probably because Watt typically tried to start with a particularly sensitive spot—Matagorda Island, the refuge of the whooping crane, which he more or less offered to the governor of Texas.

The leasing of the public's resources, particularly coal, was far more serious, and his handling of these sales—along with sales of off-shore oil drilling leases—paved the way for his downfall. It was all there in his confirmation testimony, but few believed he would actually attempt so monumental a selling program.

During those hearings, Watt argued that unless resources were developed in what he termed an orderly fashion, there would be a severe shortage sometime in the future that would lead to helter-skelter exploitation damaging to the landscape. But his definition of orderly turned out to resemble most people's definition of helter-skelter.

He attempted in his stormy two and a half years to sell rights to the entire outer-continental shelf (OCS)—on an already glutted market—many times the amount

of federal coal sold in past decades. Congress and the courts held up most of his OCS sales and put sensitive areas off limits to others.

Following a coal sale in Montana and Wyoming (Powder River) and another in the Dakotas (Fort Union), Congress imposed a moratorium on further coal leasing until a commission (the one, incidentally, that was composed of "a black, a woman, two Jews and a cripple") could study and report on the coal-leasing program. Watt threatened to ignore the congressional moratorium, citing the recent court ruling throwing out the legislative veto, but a federal court told him to play ball. (Even after the fiasco of the Powder River sale, Watt was unrepentant. Though his coal sold for around a penny a ton, he said this would still pay off in the future. [Congress had calculated that the sale had cost the federal treasury about \$100 million.] The Fort Union sale brought a whopping \$.0035 per ton, not even enough to pay the administrative cost of the sale.)

So, in the end, what was it that did Watt in? Conventional wisdom seems to

Continued on page 6



# IN SHORT

## Carthan free

Former Tchula, Miss., Mayor Eddie Carthan is finally home from prison, after a federal judge reduced his three-year sentence to time served on October 12. Carthan was convicted of giving a federally insured bank false information in 1981, a case the black reform mayor's supporters had long contended was political and poorly founded (*In These Times*, Jan. 20, 1982). A second set of fraud charges against Carthan were dropped for lack of evidence in July, after Carthan refused to plead guilty in exchange for release from prison.

Carthan's attorneys, Johnnie Wallis and former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, had moved for a sentence reduction in September, arguing that others convicted in the case with Carthan had received sentences of just a few months and that his long incarceration was a hardship for his family. One day after the judge's ruling, Carthan went home to his family, having spent seven months in prison.

## Klan coalition?

The Ku Klux Klan seems to be learning something about coalition building, apparently trying to broaden beyond its issues to attract wider support. At an October 14 demonstration in Groton, Conn., protesting the launching of a fifth Trident submarine, 14 robed Klansmen showed up to counter-protest in support of the Reagan administration's nuclear buildup. Riot-garbed police stood between the 400 antinuclear demonstrators and the Klan and there was no direct confrontation, while inside General Dynamics' Electric Boat Yard dignitaries helped christen the *U.S.S. Jackson*, after the late Washington senator.

About 50 antinuclear protesters were arrested for non-violent direct action, but the real casualties of the event, Joel Schecter reports, were enthusiastic Young Republicans who were denied entry to the launching celebration because they were carrying banners and picket signs. Though the signs were pro-Reagan, police informed them that demonstrators of every persuasion were prohibited from entering the launching site.

## Having a BLAST

Buoyed by success in organizing rank-and-file opposition to Teamster President Jackie Presser's negotiated contract settlement last month, the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) held their annual convention in Detroit October 14 and 15. The gathering was attended by some 400 TDU members, along with 100 Presser partisans, members of the Brotherhood of Loyal Americans and Strong Teamsters (BLAST), who occupied several workshop rooms before police and hotel management cleared them out on the convention's first day. TDU members dismissed the attempted interference as just more evidence of their impact on Teamster officialdom, and went on with the conference, focusing on industry-wide problems and looking toward 1985 contract negotiations. The TDU is organizing toward a rank-and-file push for membership election of international officials, but as one spokesperson says, "That's for the future. But Jackie Presser is the best argument we have."

## More nuclear reaction

While waiting for Congress to do something about the nuclear arms race, a lot of local communities are taking matters into their own hands. A legislative update: nuclear-free-zone referenda, abolishing the production and development of nuclear weapons within zone limits, have been passed in small cities and towns around the country, but campaigns in Santa Monica, Calif., and Cambridge, Mass., are breaking new ground. Unlike most nuclear free areas, both cities draw considerable defense contracts—the Rand Corporation in Santa Monica and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) draw millions of dollars in nuclear research contracts annually. Both referenda are given a serious chance of passing, although it would take interminable legal battling before Rand and MIT converted their nuclear research facilities to greenhouses.

On a more symbolic level, the city of New Haven went on record opposing the deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe this year, a resolution unanimously adopted by the Board of Aldermen. And in Chico, Calif., dropping a nuclear bomb within city limits now brings a \$500 fine.

## Series fever

The baseball season is over, leaving everyone but Baltimore Orioles fans a little disappointed. But a U.S. military advisor in El Salvador, quoted in the October 7 *L.A. Weekly*, has his own cure for the post-season blues: "All I want to do is win one war, that's all, just one. It'll be like winning the World Series for me."

—Joan Walsh

## Internal static at Pacifica

LOS ANGELES—A long-simmering power struggle inside the Pacifica Foundation, which operates radio stations in New York, Washington, Houston, Berkeley and Los Angeles, has erupted into a string of firings and resignations.

New directors Tim Frasca of the Pacifica News Service in Washington, D.C. and Robert Knight of WBAI in New York were fired for alleged administrative inadequacies. Marc Cooper, news director of Los Angeles station KPFK, was demoted to reporter on similar grounds. Frasca, Knight and Cooper had been aligned against Pacifica Vice President/Director Sharon Maeda in a controversy over Maeda's application to two corporations for cash grants. But they were also united in opposing Maeda's generally softer, less ideological line on political issues.

Maeda couldn't be termed the victor in the turmoil, however: Pacifica President Peter Franck initiated a special inquiry into her handling of the corporate grant application and her evaluation of Frasca's work. The inquiry produced a reprimand—and Maeda's resignation. Pacifica's Board of Directors has also voted to halt the pursuit of corporate funding.

The storm has been brewing at Pacifica for some time. Perennial money problems have bedeviled the stations, which don't accept advertising, but instead solicit contributions from listeners. Meanwhile, increasingly sophisticated university-

linked FM stations, which compete with Pacifica for listener contributions, have invaded the space for esoteric music, non-commercial news and commentary, and otherwise non-mainstream radio programming that Pacifica stations once had to themselves.

But internal turf squabbles have prevented a coherent response, at least at KPFK in Los Angeles. Much programming is done by volunteers who are not paid, but who have acquired what amount to squatters rights over chunks of air time. Administration is a kind of Polish-parliament in which, as one former Pacifica director put it, "no one has responsibility, and no one has authority."

At KPFK, longtime Pacifica contributor/programmer/supporter Clare Spark tried to shake up the system last year when she became program director, introducing 35 new shows and attempting to develop black, Latino and other minority constituencies for the station. Her ally was news director Cooper, who went on to win journalism awards for his news work while alienating many long-time KPFK volunteers with what they perceived as dogmatic high-handedness. Spark and Cooper's efforts to give the station more consistence and a higher political profile had some tangible success—subscriber contributions increased—but turf defenders banded together to force Spark out after 18 months, with Cooper now following.

New faces will come to fill the gaps left by the bloodletting. This is completely of a pattern. Some of the most talented people in American broadcasting have spent time at Pacifica be-

fore moving on, either pushed out by politics or quitting in disgust. With the financial picture as cloudy as ever, the real question is whether the extraordinary resource represented by five powerful FM stations in the most important metropolitan areas in this country will ever be redeemed from what seems to be institutionalized ineffectuality.

—Eric Mankin

## Group seeks to free Calderon

SAN FRANCISCO—A delegation of U.S. citizens is leaving for El Salvador October 24 to request the release of Professor Ricardo Calderon, the imprisoned secretary general of the National University of El Salvador.

The delegation, representing the Committee for the Release of Ricardo Calderon, intends to remain in El Salvador until the 48-year-old former newspaper reporter and journalism professor is released and granted permission to go to New York. Included in the group's itinerary are meetings with President Alvaro Magana and other government representatives, university officials and church leaders.

Calderon is being held in Mariona Prison, on the outskirts of San Salvador, where he was interviewed in August by a delegation from Faculty for Human Rights in El Salvador and Central America (FACHRES), an organization of U.S. professors. He told the group that after his abduction June 28 by a group of armed men in civilian clothes, he was held incommunicado for 11 days and tortured at the National Police headquarters. He said that his interrogators tried to force him to confess to crimes of "subversion," but he refused and was eventually transferred to Mariona.

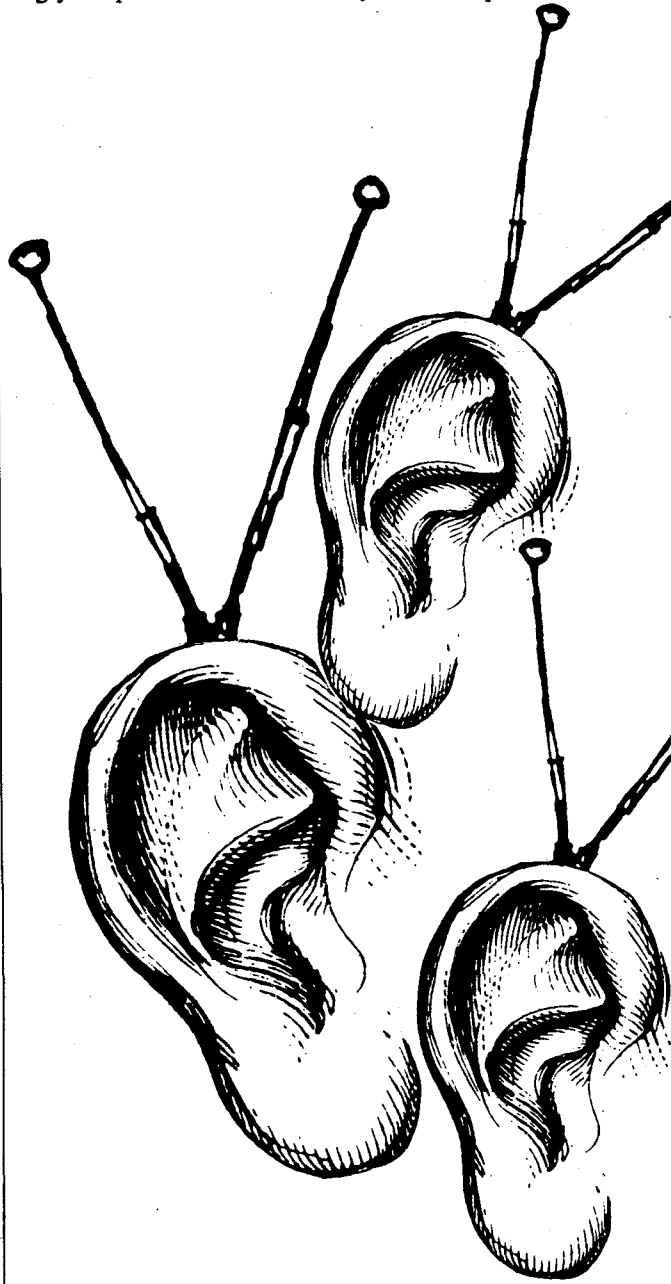
Calderon has not been formally charged with any crime but is being held under a decree that allows authorities to hold for up to six months persons suspected of acts against the state. Calderon denies that he was involved in any anti-government activities.

According to members of the FACHRES delegation, the professor is in poor health but has continued to perform many of his duties as the university's secretary general while in prison. He told the delegation of regular visits by students, faculty members and other administrators who bring documents for him to review or sign.

Calderon's abduction came while he was serving on a commission established by the Constituent Assembly, the country's legislative body, that is charged with the responsibility of helping to reopen the National University campus, which has been closed and under military occupation since June 1980. Classes are currently held in various scattered locations in San Salvador.

The current delegation plans to follow up on the promise made to the FACHRES representatives by President Magana to look into Calderon's case.

—Bill Hinchberger



Graphic by Dolores Wilber



## THE LEFT

By John B. Judis

NEW YORK

ONE WOULD HAVE EXPECTED that the 300 delegates to the October 14-16 convention of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) had much to cheer about. Since its formation last spring from the merger of the Democratic Socialists Organizing Committee (DSOC) and the New American Movement (NAM), DSA had increased its membership by half—to about 7,000.

Convention delegates represented local chapters in 60 cities, including such left-wing backwaters as Dallas and Salt Lake City. A small yet committed core of black socialists also attended. And the convention was held in the wake of the surprising showing of black socialist Mel King in Boston's October mayoral primary.

But an uncertainty pervaded DSA's high councils. There was a sense that the American left was disintegrating. And there was considerable doubt about what role, if any, DSA should play in national politics.

"If anybody here has a unifying project that will bring us all together in a national campaign that can play a serious role in American society, tell me," DSA chair Michael Harrington said in his convention keynote address.

Talking to *In These Times* afterward, former DSOC national director Jim Chapin made a play on one of Harrington's favorite phrases. "We used to be the left wing of the possible, and now we're the right wing of the highly improbable," he said.

### Reasons for pessimism.

In his address, Harrington argued that DSOC's successes with Democratic Agenda—an organization of party activists and trade unionists that it formed in 1976 and that played a notable role in developing the program for the 1978 Democratic midterm convention—was the result of a unique conjunction of circumstances. "In the '70s we discovered a certain space in American society," Harrington said. "You had the new left of the '60s moving toward the Democratic Party. In the trade union movement, you had the antiwar trade unions following their own policy and looking for bridges to the new left. We had the opportunity to be a bridge to serious constituencies."

But, Harrington noted, Reagan's victory shifted domestic politics to the right ("full employment is now an improbably radical demand"), AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland brought the left unions back into the fold and united them in a national political strategy and the new left groups that DSOC had helped bring into the Democratic Party adopted coalition strategies of their own. "We did our job too well," Harrington said.

Harrington rested his hopes for DSA on the revival of mass movements in which DSA could position itself as the socialist wing. Remarking on the decline of American capitalism, Harrington predicted that such movements would arise again. "We would be ill advised to say that next year there will be a tremendous political response to the crisis. That's silly. What we can say is that there will be a response. So many lives are being shattered that at some point this situation will lead to mass movements."

According to Harrington, DSA's current quandary is deepened by an international crisis of socialism. Harrington, who spent the spring in Paris, said that although he believes French President Francois Mitterrand has been sold short by many of his own followers, the French failure has had a devastating effect on the viability of socialist politics. "You can't go around France and think that socialists have the answers," Harrington said.

Critic Irving Howe, a founder of DS-



At least two more perspectives were expressed that were more optimistic at the convention. One group of people, which included New Jersey tenant organizer John Atlas, political scientist Francis Piven and Chicago electoral activist Roberta Lynch, stressed the importance of local electoral coalitions and the surge of new voters. They viewed the recent successes of black mayoral candidates, the victories in 1982 of left-wing Democrats like Connecticut Rep. Bruce Morrison and the growing role of the citizen action organizations in electoral politics as indications of a left upsurge rather than a decline. DSA members Atlas, Peter Dreier and John Stephens articulated this perspective in a recent issue of *The Nation*, which was reprinted in the convention bulletin: "Contrary to popular assessments, the last decade has seen a tremendous amount of progressive political activity."

## Despite growth, DSA is unsure of its political role



## DSA now has two tendencies—reds and greens. The reds stress labor and the greens focus on culture and social issues.

OC, put the matter more philosophically but no less pessimistically in a workshop on socialist identity. Exasperated by statements from DSA members that both assumed a given meaning to socialism and viewed DSA's problem as getting the public to relate to that meaning, Howe declared that socialism had never overcome the crisis wrought by Stalinism and the "inner disintegration of social democracy." "What is the idea of socialism that DSA members have in their heads?" Howe wondered aloud in a workshop.

The Atlas-Dreier-Stephens idea is to weld these local coalitions of labor, minorities, environmentalists, peace proponents and feminists into a national "party within a party" that could eventually transform the Democratic Party. In the article they concede that the left will not be able to affect the choice of an opponent to Ronald Reagan, but insist that local Democratic campaigns and voter registration drives will tie into a national anti-Reagan effort in 1984.

But these DSA members have trouble answering the question of what role the organization will play in this process. At the convention, Atlas told *In These Times* that DSA members should consider joining Citizen Action groups like Illinois Public Action. But he acknowledged that this strategy would leave little for DSA itself to do.

Another, more optimistic view was espoused by author Harry Boyte and an unlikely coalition of DSA members that have flocked to a Communitarian Caucus. While Boyte identifies the hopes of the left with neo-populist community organizing (his current model is San Antonio's COPS), other communitarians, like Santa Cruz DSA's Sue Reynold-

son, see the future in communal living and land trusts. The communitarians share a conviction that both socialism and electoral politics are at best incidental—and at worst impediments—to the left's growth. Boyte calls on DSA to accept a "plurality of expressions" for its "vision" (his own favorite is "cooperative commonwealth") and to reject the "totalizing" implications of socialism.

But Boyte's communitarianism, while addressed to genuine left problems, hardly gets DSA out of the jam that Harrington believes it is in. Indeed, Boyte's proposals amount to a call for dissolving DSA in favor of a far different non-socialist organization.

### Reds vs. greens.

At the convention, a plethora of resolutions were passed on everything from Campbell's Soup to Nicaragua. Against the wishes of some of DSA's labor members, the delegates decided to bow to the membership's divided loyalties (between Walter Mondale, Alan Cranston and Jesse Jackson) and not endorse anyone in the Democratic presidential primary. Harrington told *In These Times* that if Mondale did win the primary, he expected that DSA would "support" him, perhaps without "endorsing" him. (The difference between these should be left to William Safire to define.)

Numerous backroom squabbles over staff and who would run for DSA's National Board absorbed many of the dele-

DSA co-chair Michael Harrington rested his hopes on new mass movements, while co-chair Barbara Ehrenreich stressed individual transformation.

gates. The most controversial resolutions, like those on Israel, were compromised before they reached plenary debate. There was also a highly successful Friday night forum, attended by several thousand New Yorkers, at which freeze leader Randall Forsberg, Salvadoran rebel leader Guillermo Ungo, Rep. Ronald Dellums and feminist writer Barbara Ehrenreich spoke.

But an undercurrent of debate kept surfacing over what general direction DSA should take in the next years. Sociologist Bogdan Denitch described two tendencies in DSA as the "reds" and the "greens"—which correspond in part to differences that existed between the old DSOC and NAM.

The reds, loosely identifiable with Atlantic Seaboard DSOCers like Harrington, Chapin, Denitch, labor political operative Marjorie Phye and former DSOC youth organizer Joe Schwartz, see the labor movement as DSA's most important potential constituency. They stress

*Continued on page 6*



# DSA

Continued from page 5

traditional political-economic issues more than cultural or social issues. Their reference point for socialism is the European left, particularly the Swedish socialists, and to the extent they see these socialists in disarray they become uncertain themselves about the meaning and prospects for socialism.

The greens are loosely identifiable with former NAM leaders and current DSA staff members Holly Graff and Leo Casey and with former NAM members from northern West Coast locals (from Esalen to Bellingham). They are more concerned with making DSA hospitable to social and cultural movements than to labor. ("The key for DSA is looking at barriers that keep women, gays and lesbians, and people of color from our organization," Portland's Beverly Stein declared at one of the main convention workshops.) They see personal transformation as integral to socialism. If they see a crisis in socialism, they identify it, as Graff does, with the difficulty of integrating feminist and anti-racist concerns into the concept of socialism.

At last week's convention, the greens played a prominent role. The elevation of Ehrenreich to DSA co-chair reflected in part a successful attempt to equalize the two tendencies. Ehrenreich is a brilliant and provocative proponent of personal transformation. Ehrenreich told *In These Times* that "to say you are a socialist is to commit yourself to personal transformation."

Ehrenreich thinks that many ostensibly

cultural issues must become political. "We have to find a way to take gay rights out of the gay ghetto," she said. "I want to take it out of being a special interest. I think it is in every person's interest to have their notion of sexuality expanded."

The reds' role in DSA and their point of view seemed to have been downgraded in other ways as well. Harrington's keynote address was scheduled for Friday morning before many of the delegates and the press had arrived, and, in contrast to past practice, no copy of it was available for the press or the delegates. Several prominent reds, like Chapin, did not participate in any of the panels and workshops.

Perhaps the most striking indication of the reds' lessened influence within DSA was the absence of any major labor future from DSA's public forum. Such an omission would have been unthinkable at a DSOC convention. Remarkably ruefully upon the convenors' omission, DSA member Carl Shier, a United Auto Workers official from Chicago, said, "They just don't think that way."

## DSA's future.

Neither the pessimism of DSA's leaders, nor the difference between the "reds" and the "greens" necessarily portend ill for the organization. DSA's growth and the vitality of many of its locals outweighs the gloom of Harrington and other leaders. But the question raised by Harrington and others is serious: what role, if any, can a socialist organization now play in American politics?

Many DSA members are on the staff of unions and of politicians. They head important lobbies and interest groups. They have no doubts about their ability as individuals to affect their own local

political scene. But they harbor doubts about doing so as members of DSA and as socialists. When they look at what role DSA can play in American politics, they become seized by feelings of despair and impotence.

Many NAM members had considered themselves to the "left" of DSOC members, but they are now finding that when they say what organization they are from, they must automatically acknowledge that they are socialists. Sometimes the results are discouraging. When former NAM leader Barbara Ehrenreich came to Philadelphia to speak at a public health association meeting, she was also scheduled to speak on behalf of DSA. When the public health officials learned in this way that she was a socialist, they tried to cancel her invitation.

A very small minority of DSA members share Boyte's view that the left should simply abandon the "Eurocentric" and

"totalizing" language of socialism. Most agree with Harrington that they will simply have to tough it out. "There is no way you can evade the issue," Harrington said. "Any serious left in this country is going to be attacked as socialist."

But in so far as DSA has not developed a socialist politics, the organization finds itself at sea. Those members who might most effectively advance DSA's fortunes work for labor unions or public officials. And even the best local chapters feel their existence is somehow tenuous.

At this year's convention, DSA was clearly suffering from this malady. Yet it will not collapse if it cannot find a cure. Socialist organizations have a religious as well as political character that allows them to survive worldly impotence. But when DSOC and NAM merged, they did not hope to found another sect, but to inaugurate a new era of socialist politics in the U.S. That era has not yet begun. ■

Secretary of the National Conservative PAC.

Another theory: Watt took an early hike because he spoke only to friendly audiences and because he somehow forgot about the media. His boomerang barbs were the sort that politicians and other public figures love to hurl in private. Watt seemed to forget that there were always television cameras at his speeches—and that, like Richard Nixon's tape recorders, provided the fatal ammunition.

So now comes the era of William Clark. He is every bit as qualified to be interior secretary as he was to be national security advisor—that is to say, not very. And despite early assurances that the Watt policies will be followed, there are other signals that some things may change, slowly and subtly. But one thing's for sure: Clark's confirmation hearings ought to be the most entertaining since the same Bill Clark couldn't come up with the name of the prime minister of Zimbabwe. ■

Tom Turner is the editor of *Not Man Apart*, the national monthly news magazine of *Friends of the Earth*.

# Watt

Continued from page 3

have it that it was the secretary's big mouth, rather than his policies, that forced him out of the saddle. But in fact, it was equal parts of both. From the start, it became clear that Watt was making many Republican politicians nervous with his words and his deeds.

When the National Wildlife Federation (NWF) polled its members on the subject in 1981, it found that, while two-thirds of them had voted for Reagan, a bigger fraction now wanted Watt out—because of his policies. (NWF is undoubtedly the largest of the conservation groups with a membership upward of four million. It is also the most conservative, being composed in large part of hunters.) By the end, Watt had turned almost everyone off. Indeed, 10 days before he finally quit, it appeared that Watt's support had dwindled to just the organized groups of the extreme right: he had become the

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**15**

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**1972**—A disguised Howard Hunt visits Dita Beard to discuss the authenticity of her memo. (see March 18)

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## FRANCE

## Working class areas turn right

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE World War II, a party belonging to the same political family as Nazism has scored enough electoral success to start demanding a place in conservative governing coalitions in France. The first breakthrough was in last March's municipal elections in the 20th *arrondissement* (borough) of Paris, where National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen was elected to the municipal council on an anti-immigrant platform.

But it took the results of the September rerun elections in the small town of Dreux, 35 miles west of Paris, to wake up the media and the left to the extent of the dangerous shift to the right in working class voting districts. In the first round in Dreux on September 4, National Front number two man Jean-Pierre Stirbois' list won nearly 17 percent of the vote. With this score in his pocket, Stirbois negotiated a coalition agreement for a joint ticket in the second round. Despite frantic but disorganized efforts by incumbent Socialists to rally anti-fascists to save the left government of Dreux, the right coalition won more than 55 percent of the vote in the September 11 runoff.

The result is that there are now four National Front members and six of their sympathizers among the 39 members of Dreux's municipal council. Stirbois will be in charge of "civic security," and he promises to keep a special eye on the town's foreign population—about 10,000 immigrants, or approximately

one out of four inhabitants of the old Norman town. Stirbois won his 17 percent of the vote by promising to defend Dreux from the new "Arab invasion," just as Charlemagne did 1,200 years ago.

Both the left and the immigrant population of Dreux are in a state of shock. And they have reason to be afraid, not only because of what National Front leaders say, but also because of who they are. What they say is that France is being ruined by foreign immigrants, especially North African Arabs, who disrupt the French way of life, bankrupt social welfare programs, introduce contagious diseases, ruin the educational prospects of French children by filling classrooms with their own countless and incorrigible offspring. This is the fault of Socialist-Communist leniency, they claim.

Rather late and lamely, the Socialists tried to set a few facts straight. Mitterrand himself, during a TV interview a few days after the elections, noted that almost all the immigrants had settled in Dreux before he was elected in 1981, and so "it is politically and electorally unfair to accuse us of 'abandoning' the French population." Mitterrand recalled that it was a former conservative mayor of Dreux who had "very generously" invited a thousand Harkis—that is, natives of Algeria who worked and fought for the French against their own people, and were rewarded with French citizenship—to settle in Dreux after Algeria gained its independence. "Then those Harkis had children. They are French citizens, but even so they are considered foreign immigrants, which is really rather shocking," said Mitterrand.

It has also been pointed out that immigrant workers—who now account for

a large percentage of the shrinking industrial work force—pay more into the costly French social security system than they get back in benefits.

Not minding the facts, the National Front (NF) has effectively played up the sense of insecurity of the parts of the population that feel most vulnerable to the undefined social changes underway. Stirbois has promised to stop "abuses" of social welfare aid to immigrants, to help the national police (there are no local police in France), especially in protecting local citizens against unemployed Arab youths, and to promote nuclear war shelters.

But NF leaders are men of action before being men of words. The NF is Jean-Marie Le Pen's successful attempt to go legitimate, after decades of being relegated to the semi-legal margins of political life. It is the heir to a string of groups, whose names changed as they were banned by the government, and whose activities consisted mainly, so far as one can see, of beating up leftists.

The new Dreux mayor, banker Jean Hieus agreed to a coalition with the NF once it proved it could bring in the necessary votes from working-class districts that used to vote left. Hieus's father was head of the regional rightist veterans organization, the Croix de Feu, back in 1934. A deep-rooted French right seems to be coming out into the open for the first time since the Liberation.

Simone Veil, the former health minister who has consistently led public opinion polls and France's most popular political figure, condemned the coalition and said that she personally would be unable to cast a vote for either side in Dreux. But Raymond Barre said not vot-

ing was "irresponsible" and supported the coalition on grounds of realism. Just afterward, he replaced Veil as number one on the political hit parade, with an amazing 48 percent of favorable opinion.

This is amazing, because during the last years of Giscard's presidency leading up to Mitterrand's election, Barre was perhaps the most unpopular man in the country. Member of the Trilateral Commission and a distinguished professor of economics, he was disliked for his monetarist economic policies. But since the Socialist government, with Jacques Delors as Finance Minister, has adopted the same approach, Barre is basking in his ability to say, "I told you so," and his popularity has soared.

It is the better-off half of the population that is most sensitive to this credibility, no doubt. Barre may win back some well-to-do voters who voted for the Socialists last time and who figure that, if we're going to have Barre's economic policy, he is probably better at it.

But such reasoning won't console those poorer voters who voted for the left in the hope of major changes and find that everything is the same as ever, but somehow getting worse. This is where Jean-Marie Le Pen hopes to come in with his NF and his campaign against the North African Arab immigrants. He has shown that he can draw votes from working-class districts that would never vote for a Raymond Barre. He wants to strike a deal with the respectable conservatives: you take the high road and I'll take the low road, and between us we'll wipe out both the Socialists and the Communists in the next elections.

The French left had promised to give foreign residents the right to vote in local elections, but lost its nerve. It has remained uneasy and on the defensive on the immigrant issue. The current policy is to integrate those who are here legally, throw out those who are here illegally and let no more in.

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## ELECTION '84

# Women won't wait to be escorted

By Joan Walsh

WASHINGTON

**I**N A POLITICAL SEASON DEVOTED to figuring out how Democrats can maximize the anti-Reagan gender gap and what women will get in exchange, nominating a woman vice president has emerged as the most visible quid pro quo. But even as Democratic Party leaders and the major presidential candidates are endorsing the idea, women's political groups, unwilling to wait to be asked to the presidential prom, are organizing to get there on their own.

The idea of a woman vice-presidential nominee was proposed by Bella Abzug to others connected with the Women's Presidential Project almost a year ago. It was left dormant until recently, when Democratic women leaders backed the concept enthusiastically at their Impact '84 conference in September. Then the National Organization for Women (NOW) put the idea in the national spotlight at its October conference (See *In These Times*, Oct. 12), getting the six major presidential candidates to pledge themselves to at least consider the selection of a female running mate.

Most recently, the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) has taken on the job of developing an electoral strategy to get a woman on the Democratic ticket, through its Democratic Task Force. Meeting in Minneapolis October 14, the task force outlined a game plan to educate the electorate and develop a constituency for a woman vice president and

keep the issue before the Democratic leadership and candidates.

In broad outline the plan looks like this: through its chapters in every state, the caucus will seek to place the issue of a woman vice president on the agenda at Democratic platform hearings and regional meetings around the country. Meanwhile, names and biographies of feminist women politicians and public figures who would consider the vice presidential nomination are being compiled, to be presented to the presidential candidates and the press next month. "We want to do everything we can to help the candidates realize that there are tremendous numbers of qualified women in every geographic area," says NWPC Democratic Task Force Chair Alice Travis.

But in addition to education and lobbying, the caucus is looking toward the August Democratic convention where, thanks to the rule reforms of the late '70s, half the delegates will be women. To make sure as many women delegates as possible go to the convention pledged to support a woman vice president, the caucus will encourage its members and other feminists to seek selection as delegates in their states. In the delegate selection process, which varies from state to state, NWPC members would run pledged both to the candidate of their choice (the caucus, unlike NOW, will not endorse in the primary) and also to putting a woman on the ticket. "In 1980, people ran as Carter delegates who supported his education policies or Kennedy delegates with a particular interest in health care," Travis explained. "This year we'll run women who

support whatever candidate, but are committed to our issues."

Looking down the road to the San Francisco convention, NWPC-backed delegates would become part of a network for a woman vice president, caucusing and operating on the floor like other interest groups. In a brokered convention, such a group could become a significant bloc; if one candidate enters the convention with the nomination sewed up, it would still be a visible caucus that the nominee would have to consult when selecting his running mate.

And while traditionally the choice of a vice president is left up to the presidential nominee, Travis notes that officially the convention delegates must select him or her—a majority of delegates could conceivably choose its own candidate. No one is predicting that, of course; August is a long way off.

## Grassroots sophistication.

The NWPC is uniquely situated to coordinate such a nationwide electoral strategy. Its many community chapters around the country give it a grassroots influence; its leadership is politically experienced and well connected to both major parties (although officially a bi-partisan group, its membership is heavily Democratic).

Within the Democratic Party, NWPC members were instrumental in bringing about the reforms that led to the 50-50 convention delegate rule. In 1980 it used that open process to elect its members convention delegates who went on, in concert with other women's groups, to help fashion a Democratic platform that included most of the organized women's movement's agenda, from strong ERA support to Medicaid funding for abortion.

"The caucus has worked on delegate selection since 1972," comments Millie Jeffrey, former NWPC chair. "The members are familiar with [delegate selection] plans in every state—they know how they operate, they know how to monitor the system. There's a political

sophistication there."

Another NWPC insider sees the caucus linking the feminist movement with practical politics. "NOW is the force behind the feminist agenda, but it doesn't have the political entree or all the skills it needs to work within the Democratic Party. Democratic Party women, on the other hand, are too tied to the party for their own power, even if they consider themselves feminists. The caucus is in a good position to push this—it understands the constraints and the language of politics."

As the convention nears, other groups will certainly get involved in the vice presidential strategy. NOW is already on record urging all candidates interested in its endorsement to select a woman running mate. The Women's Presidential Project, so far uncommitted to either a candidate or a single plan of electoral action, may get involved as well. In the meantime, different strategies could emerge.

Bella Abzug, for one, believes the women's movement should back a single vice-presidential candidate and run a campaign, even if that's an untraditional way to approach the office. "I think it's time for a non-traditional approach," Abzug said.

While hers appears a singular attitude—Alice Travis, for example, thinks fielding a single candidate "would pit women against each other"—Abzug thinks such a campaign can still develop, depending on the response to NWPC's efforts. "It may take a while for it to happen, for the idea to be accepted even among political women," Abzug says. "How it develops depends on the public response."

In the meantime, the NWPC will try to advance the rest of its agenda. Pushing for a woman vice president is a bright, catchy media grabber: *USA Today* featured a full opinion page on the notion October 6 and two weeks later ran a front-page story, complete with photos of eight of the women most frequently mentioned, including U.S. Reps. Barbara Mikulski of Maryland, Geraldine Ferraro of New York, Pat Schroeder of Colorado, Lindy Boggs of Louisiana, Michigan Lieutenant Governor Martha Griffiths and San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein. Yet the NWPC and the organized women's movement have to look beyond the campaign, whether it fails or succeeds.

"This is part of a strategy," Travis said. "It's an important step and it's way overdue but it's not the only issue for us." The caucus plans a major role in the Women's Vote Project, a coalition of some 55 groups—from the League of Women Voters to the National Association of Social Workers—that is preparing a massive women's voter registration drive.

Its vice-presidential push is only one track of an attempt to increase the numbers of women holding elective office, Travis notes. Part of the national campaign will work to get all-out Democratic Party assistance in electing at least three women Senate candidates in 1984. And once at the convention, a visible NWPC bloc won't let the nominee get away without pledging a significant number of women cabinet appointees, she predicts.

The response from the Democratic Party, with 56 percent of its registered voters women, is friendly if wary. Democratic National Committee (DNC) Chair Charles Manatt, who was quoted this summer doubting there would be a woman or black on the presidential ticket before the year 2000, has since digested his words. Vice Chair Lynn Cutler is openly enthusiastic about the idea. And DNC Political Director Ann Lewis offers cautious encouragement, though she says there's little the DNC can do to advance the cause officially.

"We can't pick and choose among candidates before the primary—we can't support anyone," Lewis told *In These Times*. "But the convention has become a fair and open process, with 50 percent of the delegates women. That's had real impact—women said, 'What we want is opportunity and access,' and we got it."

Given women's strength and numbers with the party, Lewis believes, a woman vice-presidential nominee "may very well happen."



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By Diana Johnstone

B O N N

IF THE GENEVA TALKS ON INTERMEDIATE-range nuclear forces (INF) have confused the public, then they cannot be considered a complete failure. That is partly what they were for, since the negotiations track of the December 1979 NATO "two-track" decision was conceived by NATO planners as a way to sell the missile deployment track (the one that mattered) to European parliaments and their general populace.

But for those who are watching carefully, the INF talks have shed light on a key factor in the Euromissile problem: the French and British nuclear forces.

Research reports to the U.S. Congress have quoted NATO officials as deploring the false expectations raised by the negotiations: that a Soviet-American agreement in Geneva might spare Europe the deployment of new missiles. This was never the intention of the NATO planners, who decided the new Pershing II and Cruise missiles should be stationed in Europe for political and military reasons having nothing to do with the Soviet SS-20 missiles on the other side.

The missiles were supposed to reassure worried European leaders, like Helmut Schmidt, that Uncle Sam was still caring for them (this was the political reason) and at the same time give the U.S. a new global strategic advantage over the Soviet Union (the military reason). The Pershing II and Cruise were considered a necessary "modernization." The most NATO planners wanted from negotiations was Russian consent to the new deployments, perhaps by setting ceilings on the numbers of missiles in order to avoid an unlimited quantitative arms race in Europe.

But the false expectations were raised by the modernization's own champions. In their haste to stampede their countries' political leaders into approving a decision they had not been given time (nor information) to study carefully, defense ministers let the leaders hope it might be called off by Soviet-American negotiations. From the viewpoint of Europe's Social Democrats in particular, this hope is part of the deal. Without it, the deal is off.

Originally, the Euromissile negotiations were to be part of SALT III, and four years seemed time enough to reach results before deployment. But the U.S. Senate failed to ratify SALT II, there was no SALT III and time passed.

The public relations pitch on the Euromissiles always centered on the quantity of Soviet SS-20s. They must obviously be "balanced" by a comparable number of similar weapons. In fact, Pentagon planners were thinking in terms of quality, or more precisely, of capacity. The Cruise missiles would be able to penetrate Soviet air defenses, the recent improvement of which has worried U.S. military planners. They feared too many U.S. F-111 strategic bombers would be shot down, making them inefficient strike weapons.

The attrition rate wouldn't matter so much for the pilotless Cruise. The Pershing II was even better; it would give the U.S. an entirely new capacity to strike key Soviet targets from nearby Europe with unprecedented accuracy.

Completely absorbed in strategic possibilities, the newly elected Reagan administration candidly admitted it could not see what it was supposed to negotiate about. As for the Russians, they were sulking after the Senate failed to ratify SALT II. Finally, Helmut Schmidt coaxed the two superpowers into special talks on the "intermediate range nuclear forces" problem, outside the SALT process. The INF talks opened in Geneva on Nov. 30, 1981—two years late, from the European point of view.

### The zero option.

Twelve days earlier, Reagan had announced the opening American position as "the zero option": no deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles in exchange for Soviet dismantling of all of their intermediate range nuclear missiles—the new SS-20s and the old SS-4s and SS-5s they were replacing. It sounded so good some NATO hard-liners feared that the

Russians might actually take him up on it and wreck modernization. But the risk was slight. Reagan's offer was meant to soothe those Europeans hoping for no missiles.

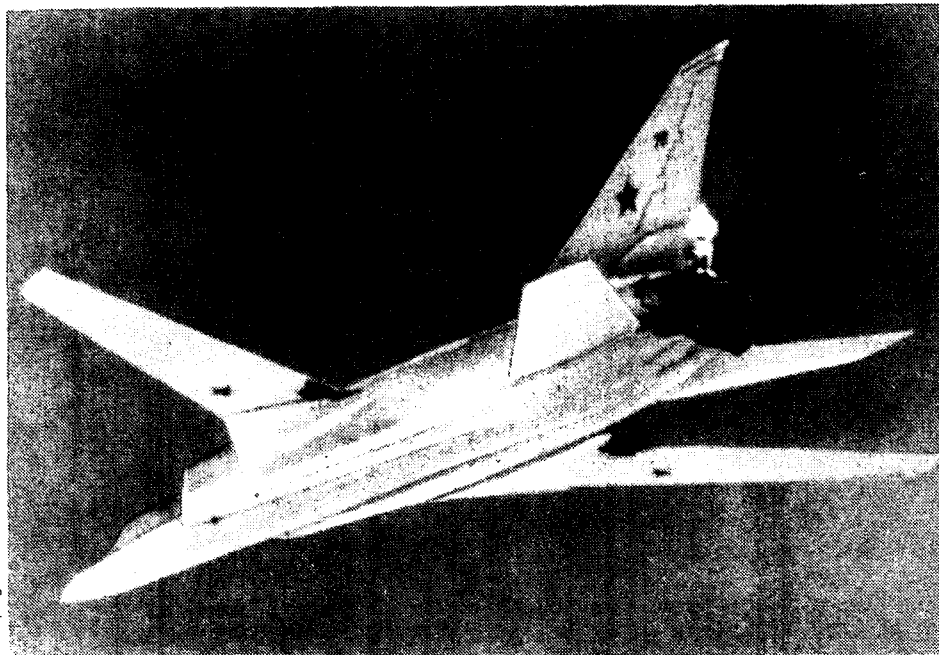
The catch was that Reagan's zero option referred to all SS-20s, both in European and Asian parts of Soviet territory. The talks were supposed to be about nuclear medium-range weapons in the "European theater." Hadn't the whole uproar begun when Schmidt called attention to an "imbalance of forces in the European theater" caused by SS-20s?

Reagan's offer deftly shifted the subject of the talks from a geographical area (Europe) to a category of weapons (intermediate-range missiles). The category



Der Spiegel

## ARMS CONTROL



Der Spiegel

# INF talks elucidate question of French, British arsenals



Der Spiegel

Chief U.S. negotiator Paul Nitze

was probably the only one in which the Soviet Union enjoyed a clear superiority. It is threatened by hostile powers on both borders—American, British and French nuclear strike forces in Europe, American and Chinese forces in Asia. The SS-20 was likely built primarily as a deterrent against China. This is justifiable because China is the only one of the five nuclear powers that has officially considered nuclear war an acceptable prospect.

At this point, by arguing that the SS-20 is mobile (a very slow and cumbersome mobility that has been greatly exaggerated), the Reagan administration was demanding that the Soviets scrap all medium-range missiles in both Europe and Asia. The Soviet Union argued that its missiles were there to counter existing weapons systems on the other side. The U.S. was not offering to dismantle any of those existing weapons systems; it was only offering not to deploy new ones.

It might have been brilliantly daring for Moscow to have accepted the "zero option." The consternation in the Pentagon would have been interesting. But, of

course, that is not the style of the slow, suspicious Kremlin.

European hopes were revived by the July 1982 "walk in the woods" when chief U.S. negotiator Paul Nitze and his Soviet counterpart Yuri Kvitsinski reportedly reached a tentative bargain of 75 SS-20s (instead of the 243 already deployed) on the Soviet side and 300 Cruise missiles on the American side. This tentative deal—if there ever really was one—was reportedly vetoed by the Pentagon's Richard Perle because it abandoned the Pershing II, and by Moscow because it did not take into account British and French missiles.

On Dec. 21, 1982, new Soviet leader Yuri Andropov made a new offer, proposing to reduce Soviet missiles in Europe to "the same number of missiles as Britain and France and not one more." Last May, Andropov said he was ready to reckon in warheads, as the U.S. had suggested, but repeated his insistence that British and French weapon systems be counted.

Soviet leaders have assured European visitors—including leaders of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD)—that they would be ready to physically destroy the excess weapons systems.

Northern European social democrats, and many others as well, find the Soviet insistence on taking the British and French weapons into account reasonable. On Sept. 6, 1983, the Dutch House adopted a motion demanding that French

## U.S. "concessions" blur distinctions of category and geographical area.

Nitze's counterpart, Chief Soviet negotiator Yuri Kvitsinski

and British nuclear forces be counted "one way or another" in INF or START negotiations. The impression prevails that the Russians are genuinely worried about the Pershing II, realize they overdid their SS-20 deployment and would like to reach an agreement. On June 16 of this year the Soviets proposed a world-wide freeze of nuclear forces.

The Americans do not seem so motivated. Last spring, Reagan said he was "temporarily" abandoning his "zero option" for a supposedly more easily acceptable "interim" solution: the U.S. offered to reduce the number of Pershing II and Cruise missiles in exchange for a start at dismantling SS-20s. In effect, the U.S. would "build up" while the USSR would "build down." Dutch social democrats interpreted this as a signal that the U.S. was starting deployment.

As the Geneva talks resumed in September for their last round before the scheduled NATO deployment, Reagan made known his new "flexible" bargaining position featuring two concessions. First, the U.S. was willing to put ceilings on the numbers of land-based, medium-range bombers in Europe—a category of weapons that the Soviet Union has long wanted to include in arms negotiations. In fact, it was to counter these "forward-based systems" that the Russians first built their intermediate-range missiles.

### Here's the rub.

But the catch is that the American offer places airplanes in a separate category from missiles. Now that the U.S. F-111 may no longer be useful (because of improved Soviet air defenses), it can be counted against Soviet aircraft. Meanwhile, the U.S. is shifting the old F-111 mission to the Cruise, a different category.

The other announced concession was to ease the demand that the Soviet Union cut back its SS-20s in Asia as well as in Europe, while reserving the U.S. "right" to match Soviet deployments in Asia whenever it wants to.

The arms control strategy that emerges from this is an American determination to establish the U.S. right to counter Soviet forces globally, from all sides—regardless of what other forces of third countries may also be threatening Soviet territory.

Thus, along with these "concessions," the Reagan administration said it would make no concession on the Soviet demand that the 162 missiles deployed by the British and French be counted as part of the NATO arsenal in Europe. The French insist that their nuclear force is "independent." Their claim harks back to de Gaulle, although NATO in its 1974 Ottawa declaration recognized the contribution of the French nuclear force to the Alliance. President Mitterrand declares, as if it were self-evident, that the French force is not comparable to those of the superpowers. Of course, it is much smaller, but size is not everything. There is also capability.

The Russians say that if a nuclear bomb lands on Moscow, it won't make much difference whether it was made in the U.S. or in France. This is not a very funny joke, considering that for some time de Gaulle's secret strategy for the *force de frappe* was to use it to set off a nuclear exchange that would drag the U.S. into nuclear war with the Soviets to defend Europe—whether the Americans wanted to or not.

The British and especially the French are undertaking major modernizations of their nuclear forces. What is to stop each of them—and the Chinese, and eventually the Italians, the Germans and other countries—from also claiming the separate "right" to match Soviet forces? And if some day nuclear missiles try to "decapitate" the Soviet Union, how are the Russians to know whose nuclear submarine fired them?

Former Dutch premier Joop den Uyl warns that Britain and France today are taking the path that the U.S. and the Soviet Union took in 1958. To stop them, their forces must be counted in the European balance—and frozen.



# LETTERS

*In These Times* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## ANTI-MATHISM?

IN HER OTHERWISE VALUABLE REVIEW of Kaplan's *The Wizards of Armageddon* (ITT, Aug. 24), Diana Johnstone repeats a common and serious error concerning the roles of mathematics, physics and politics. She begins with the erroneous supposition that "math made the bomb." In fact, physics was the science involved; mathematics is only an abstract tool of physics and the other sciences. In itself, this error is not so serious, except that in dealing with responsibilities for the uses of science, it is crucial to be accurate in all details.

More important is the assignment of responsibility. Johnstone says, "Mathematics...forced out the politics" and "game theory totally excludes and replaces the real world of human motivations with an abstract construct." This attitude indicates a complete misunderstanding of the role of abstraction in mathematics, and of the uses of mathematics in science and other fields. We Americans have placed too much faith in specialists, and left too many decisions in their hands. We can no more blame mathematics for the inhuman use of game theory in national military planning than we could blame chessmasters if our government suddenly began to play international politics according to the rules of chess.

Our youth has to a large degree turned away from the mathematics and physics that was used to build the Bomb; Johnstone and others contribute to the misunderstandings that lead to this misguided and regretful tendency. Better that we should study and understand the mathematical sciences in order to attain control over their use by a government truly representing the interests of the people, and in order to use these sciences to support a peace.

—Mark Mandelkern  
West Germany

## MORE COVERAGE

THE REVIEW OF *SCOTCH VERDICT*, "A Scandal in Scotland" (ITT, Oct. 5) fills a vacuum in the newspaper for articles dealing with lesbian issues. More coverage of this type is needed! Many left journals have traditionally avoided "controversial" issues of sexuality. But, as the women's movement has demonstrated, the institution of compulsory heterosexuality has historically served to maintain sexual roles and stereotyping.

It is no accident that the current backlash against feminism has struck at gays and lesbians who are considered "marginal" in our society. The current hysteria around AIDS indicates the all-pervasive nature of homophobia in the U.S. Newspapers such as *ITT* can and should provide a forum for the discussion of issues related to sexuality as a vital part of the government movement for social change.

—Marilyn J. Carlander, Gloria Donahue, Barbara Stroker  
Chicago

## IN PRAISE OF BAGDIKIAN

BEN H. BAGDIKIAN'S *THE MEDIA MONOPOLY* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1983) provides accurate information about the communications situation in the U.S. It should be read and considered with care by those who read *In These Times*.

Because of this, I am shocked at the sneering review of it Alfie Kohn wrote for your October 5 issue. Bagdikian's "conspiracy theory" is well documented and presented. The fact that his book is written clearly, in English, rather than in academic jargon does not warrant

talk about "snappy, journalistic prose."

If Kohn had read the book carefully and studied the extensive notes to the text, he would have realized that Bagdikian is not guilty of a "substitution of rhetoric for scholarship." Bagdikian has produced a weighty but easily read book.

Bagdikian does not give the impression that the 50 corporations dominating the mass media represent an integrated, like-minded monopoly. Their policies and practices do differ somewhat. The kinds of involvement they have in a vast range of other corporations differ. "The problem is not one of universal evil among the corporations or their leaders."

The chief problem, as he sees it, is the limitation of "open discussion of the system that support giantism in corporate life and of other values that have been enshrined under the inaccurate label of 'free enterprise'." The result is a tightening straitjacket of plutocratic hegemony over all American thought and life.

Among the media management myths that Bagdikian examines is the one that "readers are uninterested in 'serious' news." He gives many illustrations to the contrary, but he points out that "in a monopoly city it is possible even with deficient news to extract excessive advertising revenues." He outlines the many advantages from government that dominant corporations have won not only for media units but for "free enterprise" generally. One price the media paid was to give Richard Nixon "the highest percentage of newspaper endorsements [in 1972] of any candidate in modern times."

In conclusion, Bagdikian hopes that giantism can somewhat be offset, that the control of units of power in our society can once again be made more autonomous. He provides convincing evidence of the advantages of such a recourse, based upon actual American cases. He apparently hopes that changing political tides will eventually make pressures in that direction possible. At the present time, the pressures are very much to the contrary.

—Alfred McClung Lee  
Short Hills, N.J.

## FALLACIES

READER NANCY KRIEGER HAS ENUNCIATED numerous fallacies in her letter criticizing the alleged failure to distinguish between "Jewish" and "Zionist" in your coverage of the August 27 march (ITT, Aug. 24). Zionism is the national liberation movement of the Jewish people aimed at the establishment and maintenance of a Jewish state—not a "capitalist Jewish state."

Like all nationalist movements, it takes forms that are progressive or reactionary, socialist or capitalist, humanist or chauvinist. Socialists were not a "tiny minority" of the movement; as witnessed by the domination for decades of the Zionist political institutions by the labor and social-democratic forces and their continued support by about half of the Israeli electorate today. If Zionism in fact relied on aid by the Western "imperialist powers," then how does one explain the British White Paper of 1939, severely restricting Jewish immigration as Nazi persecution intensified; the imprisonment of Zionist leaders by the British in 1946; other British acts aimed at thwarting a Jewish state in Palestine; American waffling on the Palestine partition plan endorsed by the UN; and the critical aid given to Israel by Czechoslovakia, with the support of the Soviet Union, in the 1948 war for independence?

Further, if the PLO is merely anti-Zionist and not anti-Jewish, then how explain its terrorist killings of innocent Jews, without any knowledge of or concern with their beliefs or activities, particularly those of infants who never lived to form political opinions?

ITT journalist Blanton was correct in referring to the "Jewish community" generally in his coverage. Krieger may regret it, but most American Jews and their major organizations—from socialist to right-wing Herut—support the basic aims of Zionism. Finally, I would note that the major Jewish organizations—American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, B'nai B'rith among them—did endorse the August 27 march. That is a record of which the Jewish—or "Zionist" community can be proud.

—Stephen E. Appell  
Chicago

## QUERY

PETER SEDGWICK, WHO DIED IN tragic circumstances in September 1983, was a magnificent and eloquent correspondent. We believe that his letters, if gathered together, would be a remarkable testimony to his times. They might also be profoundly educative, even politically inspiring, in showing how personal suffering can be transcended by an ironical self-awareness and a passionate and truthful engagement with the lives of one's fellow beings. For this reason, we propose to publish them, along with some of his other writings, in a memorial volume. Letters and papers (preferably photocopies) should be sent to us at the following address:

Peter Sedgwick Memorial Volume  
Pluto Press  
The Works  
105a Torriano Avenue  
London NW5 2RX

—Tariq Ali, David Beatham, Paul Foot, Stuart Hall, Michael Kidron, Nina Kidron, Richard Kuper, Steven Lukes, Jean McCrindle, Tim Mason, Sheila Rowbotham, Raphael Samuel, Michael Sedgwick  
London

*Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.*

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(signed) James Weinstein  
Publisher and Editor

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## DIALOG

# Third World crisis is nuclear trigger

By James Petras & Morris Morley

**I**N A NUMBER OF ARTICLES, including "Peace is a Third-Way Street" (*The Nation*, April 16), the British social historian and antinuclear activist E.P. Thompson has argued essentially that the nuclear arms race and the threat of nuclear war was basically a European affair; that while human rights issues in Eastern Europe were "sensitive and visible questions that impinge emphatically upon the problems of disarmament," the same issue in Latin America and Asia "has rather little to do with nuclear weapons and its [violations of human rights] does not even need a superpower to do it although that helps." He then proceeds to argue that from a realistic as opposed to a moralistic viewpoint the "lines of antagonism and reconciliation run not through the countrysides of Guatemala and El Salvador but through Berlin, Warsaw and Prague."

Let us adopt Thompson's hardnosed viewpoint, leaving aside universal moral statements, and examine the historical record to see if indeed the greatest threats of nuclear war have occurred in the geopolitical contexts that he asserts. Furthermore, let us examine whether the peace movement, which has followed Thompson's dictates in the recent past ('50s and '60s) was able to confront the major issues of war and peace—and whether it was able to defeat, even temporarily, its adversary.

First, let us start from a rather small detail in the text of Thompson's *Nation* article, a detail that illuminates the larger issues. In his opening discussion of war and peace and in the course of elaborating the case for the centrality of Europe, Thompson cites "the artificial line" separating the continent, the large and "growing nuclear and military establishment," "ideological hostilities and skirmishes between rival security services." He goes on to point to two world wars in Europe and concludes with the revealing statement that, "next to the Middle East, Europe is as likely a starting point for World War III as any."

Several things can be said about his opening discussion. In contrast to ideological and geopolitical skirmishes in Europe, major wars involving massive European and U.S. military deployments since World War II have all taken place outside of Europe—namely in Asia (Korea, Vietnam), Africa (Algeria, Kenya, Congo) and Latin America (Cuba, Dominican Republic, Nicaragua). Thompson is strangely silent about these imperialist interventions. If threats of military confrontation are a danger leading to war in Europe, then the exercise of military power in the Third World logically is a greater threat to war.

Explicitly but rather offhandedly, Thompson concedes this point by noting that the *Middle East* is the *likeliest* starting point for World War III. If that is the case, as Thompson concedes, then it is a curious piece of argumentation that this issue of non-European conflict is not integrated into his general discussion of war and peace. Thompson apparently recognizes that, while nuclear weapons may be located and manufactured in Europe, their activation will most likely be the result of actions that take place within the Third World—specifically in response to revolutionary upheavals in the Middle East.

The post-war historical record regarding

the near use of atomic weaponry and the initiation of a nuclear war does not in any way support Thompson's Eurocentric argument. The three major instances where the use of nuclear weapons was seriously considered were in relation to conflicts involving the U.S. in the Third World.

In the first case, Washington gave serious consideration to using the atomic bomb during the Korean war. Specifically, the Truman and Eisenhower administrations discussed the possibility of using nuclear weapons in China in an effort to secure a military victory over Communist forces. Joseph Goulden's recent study of the Korean war confirms that from the beginning of hostilities the Pentagon had been producing analyses of the circumstances under which atomic weapons might be used. Following China's entry into the war in late November 1950, the Joint Chiefs of Staff immediately prepared a study on "the possible use of the

The second instance where nuclear war was seriously contemplated was in Indochina in 1954 and during the late '60s and early '70s. Recently declassified U.S. government documents clearly show that the Eisenhower White House gave serious thought to the use of atomic bombs to prevent the defeat of the French at Dienbienphu by Vietminh forces in April-May 1954.

In early April, Eisenhower conferred with Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Admiral Arthur W. Radford, and it was decided that the U.S. would intervene militarily to help the French if certain conditions were met—among them involvement of allies of the U.S. in the military adventure and a French promise to grant some form of independence to Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. While John Prados' newly published study of the U.S. plan code-named Operation Vulture makes a powerful case for believing that Ike would have intervened without resort to nuclear weapons if the conditions had been met, he also makes the no less important point that Eisenhower and Radford agreed that if China should intervene in Vietnam after the U.S. did then the atomic bomb should be used. According to Prados, Ike even considered "loaning" atomic bombs to the French just prior



Demonstrators at a recent antinuclear protest march in West Germany

*E.P. Thompson argues the fight to stop arms race is Europe's affair. But a nuclear war will start elsewhere.*

atomic bomb as a factor to discourage continued intervention...." At a news conference later that month, President Truman was questioned on this issue and responded matter-of-factly that the use of the atomic bomb had "always been under active consideration" since the beginning of the conflict.

Eisenhower's election in 1952 brought more of the same from the Republicans. In his memoirs, Ike tells us that Moscow and Peking were informed that, in the absence of any visible Chinese movement toward ending the conflict, the U.S. "intended to move deviously without any inhibition in our use of weapons." He contends that this continuing threat to employ atomic weapons was the critical factor bringing about the cessation of hostilities six months after he entered the White House. The real threat of nuclear war, it appears, passed through Washington, Pyongyang and Peking—not Paris or Moscow, Prague, London or Warsaw. The military stalemate in Korea and the growing antiwar sentiment in the U.S. were major elements restraining policymakers—and limiting the nuclear threat.

to the fall of Dienbienphu.

By the late '60s, the Vietnamese national liberation struggle had reached a point where Washington was again giving serious consideration to using atomic weapons to "win" the war. Seymour Hersh's study of Kissinger provides a substantial amount of detail on these efforts by the Nixon White House. He notes that as early as the summer of 1969, both the president and his national security adviser expressed their determination to launch a "savage, decisive blow" against North Vietnam. The resulting plan jointly produced by the NCS and the JCS called for, among other things, massive saturation bombing of all the key cities, areas, harbors, dike system, etc., to coincide with an invasion of the country as well as "the destruction—possibly with nuclear devices—of the main north-south passes along the Ho Chi Minh Trail; and even bombing of North Vietnam's main railroad links with China."

Hersh quotes Charles Colson asking White House Chief of Staff H.R. Haldeman about the use of nuclear weapons to end the war and being told by Haldeman that "Kissinger had lobbied for nuclear options in the spring and fall of 1969." Nixon, according to Hersh constantly raised the possibility of using tactical nuclear weapons with Kissinger during early 1971. Former Kissinger aides contended that such discussions were carried on between the two for the duration of the war.

## Aiding potential victims.

This real threat to use nuclear weapons occurred in the Third World, but its consequences could have led to a global nuclear confrontation—if, as is likely, the Soviets had come to the aid of their Viet-

namese allies. The effectiveness of the anti-Vietnam war movement that undermined the military policy in Washington was the most effective antinuclear movement to date. One way of aiding the potential victims of nuclear war in Europe is by defeating the imperialist forces that are currently victimizing Third World populations in their central military operations—namely in Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Lebanon. These conflicts, which begin with conventional wars, can as in the past become escalated into global nuclear confrontations.

The clearest expression of this process is evident in the most dramatic and dangerous confrontation in recent history—the American naval blockade of Cuba in October 1962. The sequence was simple: Cuba's revolutionary government socialized U.S. property; the Kennedy White House organized an invasion that failed and was preparing another on a larger scale; Cuba obtained Soviet missiles to defend itself; the U.S. established a naval quarantine and prepared for a nuclear confrontation. Soviet pragmatism and prudence avoided a nuclear war. Nothing comparable to the U.S.-Cuban-USSR confrontation occurred in Europe, either in terms of direct danger or immediacy of nuclear war. The political issue we are emphasizing is that there is an integral relationship between military intervention in the Third World and the threat of nuclear war.

The failure of the peace movement in Europe (and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in England) to recognize

this relationship had disastrous consequences in the '60s: it was totally unprepared to act during the American blockade of Cuba; its incapacity to formulate a strategy oriented toward the Third World (and to Vietnam in particular) made it irrelevant during the late '60s and early '70s. The peace movement's Eurocentric focus on the nuclear weapons and East-West conflict led to its being by-passed by the massive anti-Vietnam movement. More directly, the decline in American arms spending in the mid-'70s and the temporary growth of detente was a direct consequence of the Vietnam anti-war movement. Thus far, the Eurocentric antinuclear movement has nothing comparable to show for its efforts.

## The next war.

The next war involving the West will not engage Eastern Europe—it will be in the Third World, either in Central America or the Middle East. The possibility of its escalating into a regional and then global nuclear war is a far more real threat than are the ideological skirmishes taking place in Europe. The whole post World War II historical record provides no justification for Thompson's political presumptions. It is precisely by uniting the antinuclear movement with struggles of the peoples of the Third World that we will move away from nuclear confrontation. The question of international solidarity once again must be raised (even as we recognize how often it has been abused and degraded) as the most appropriate basis for developing a strategy of peace.

James Petras is teaching sociology in Greece this year. Morris Morley writes on Third World development.



## SHANGHAI JOURNAL

## If it's Tuesday, this is Beijing

By Henry Rosemont Jr.

SHANGHAI

**I**F NEWSPAPER TRAVEL EDITORS are invited to the openings of major hotels around the world, they've been spending a lot of time in China lately. Since January the White Swan in Guangzhou, Jin Ling in Nanjing, Xiangshan in Beijing and the Shanghai have all opened their doors to the public; and the year isn't over yet.

They are distinctive hotels. Disco dancing, much frowned upon in official China, is advertised regularly at the White Swan; the atrium in the Shanghai's lounge is several stories high; the Xiangshan's architect was I.M. Pei; and the Jin Ling, at 34 stories with a revolving rooftop bar, is the tallest building in China.

Even more distinctive are the prices these and similar hotels charge their guests: everything from food to liquor to the price of a room costs anywhere from five to 20 times as much as they would cost on the street, or at more modest hostelry in the same cities. As a foreign expert with working papers, for example, I usually pay 12 yuan (\$6 U.S.) per night for a simple room, about twice what Chinese would pay. At these new hotels prices range from 70 to more than 200 yuan per night—with no discounts.

Tourism is becoming big business in China. Some additional signs:

(1) No sooner had the Shanghai officially opened when the municipal authorities announced that another, 29-story hotel would begin construction immediately.

(2) In January, Hangzhou University opened a Department of Tourism, to train guides, interpreters and other tourist service personnel.

(3) Demand apparently exceeded supply, for over the summer the Beijing Second Foreign Languages Institute was converted into a College of Tourism, to train everyone from maids to managers. Its language faculty was retained to offer instruction in English, Japanese, French, German, Spanish, Russian and Arabic to future hotel employees.

(4) Approximately 4.5 million visitors have come to China in the first six months of 1983 alone; more people have come here in the last three years than in the 30 years preceding.

(5) Pierre Cardin is opening both a clothing boutique and a replica of the Paris Maxim's in Beijing, with prices only slightly higher in the former city than the latter. In addition to tourists, Cardin said, "Chinese will be welcome"—if (he didn't say) they are willing to swap about two months' wages for a fancy blouse or full-course dinner.

To anyone supportive of the ideals if not the realities of the Cultural Revolution, such trends will undoubtedly be viewed with dismay and disappointment. On the other hand, many liberals will probably see Westernization—or, as most social scientists prefer to camouflage it, "modernization"—as contributing to the social and political democratization of the country, while benefitting it economically.

The economic benefits of tourism are well known: it is an easy generator of foreign exchange. Tourists spend large sums of money abroad, hence the more of them there are, the more dollars, marks and yen host countries obtain to purchase commodities they do not themselves produce.

And in the sociocultural realm, Western tourists bring with them new ways of acting and thinking. Democratic principles are evidenced by their presence and behavior, and they thereby conduce to helping native peoples throw off their ideological fetters of the past in order to enter the soon-to-be 21st century.

Unfortunately, these analyses leave most of the story untold. It is in the first instance doubtful whether tourism of itself contributes to liberalization—however defined—in a country; proponents of this view will be hard put to give concrete examples thereof from Africa, Asia or Latin America.

Consider Brazil and Argentina. Many Americans are probably disco dancing in Rio and Buenos Aires right now, just as others have danced the rumba, samba and tango in the past; while generals posture as presidents, death squads roam the streets, poor people are sick and starving and moratoria on foreign debts are being declared.

These are not necessarily extreme examples, for the point is general: from Cairo to Manila, Third World tourist attractions have been known neither for the strength of their democratic institutions nor the health of their economies, and there is little evidence that the situation is improving.

With respect to the virtues of Westernization in the sociocultural realm, anthropologists and others have long and often pointed out the chauvinism at best, and mischievousness at worst of such views. An invasion of foreigners—at least minimally well-to-do and bringing a technological culture with them—incline a less industrialized society toward decreasing cohesion and a dilution of their cultural heritage. For evidence we need look no farther than Honolulu or Window Rock, Ariz. The farther we do look from the U.S., the more do we see the loss of cohesion and dilution of tradition seriously rending the social fabric of indigenous peoples inundated with tourists; and it is largely irrelevant whether those tourists are well-meaning and empathetic or boorish and insensitive.

Nor is tourism necessarily a boon economically to Third World countries. In the first place, construction, start-up and maintenance costs of an expensive tourist hotel are high. Specifically they are high relative to the costs of building and maintaining light industrial plants of comparable size. Yet the latter would not only produce more goods for the native peoples, they would provide more permanent jobs than can be supported by a tourist hotel.

We may also wish to question the significance of the amount of foreign exchange provided by these enterprises. Thailand's "newest luxury hotel" is the Hilton International Bangkok (HIB). The first word in the name should suggest that much of the foreign exchange profit made by this hotel will find its way back

to the U.S., rather than be transformed into wages or goods for the Thai people.

Americans will surely spend many dollars at the HIB and similar hotels, but many of those dollars will have to be immediately respend to replenish the supplies of Scotch, bourbon, avocados, corn chips, Kodak film and the countless other items Americans want to consume that are not grown or made in Thailand. In other words, much foreign exchange is spent purchasing foreign goods for consumption by foreign visitors. Who benefits from all of this?

Last but by no means least, we might ask what other foreign-manufactured items are imported into Third World countries with their foreign exchange. I would hazard the following as a one-sided but not unimportant partial list: Mercedes cars, Omega watches, VTRs—for the consumption by the relatively affluent. Other money may be used for the well-being of the population as a whole: to buy planes, tanks, missiles, machine guns and all the other paraphernalia necessary militarily to keep a country "free."

No great claims of originality are made for this analysis. Much of it is simple common sense, recently sanctified by being baptized "dependency theory." (Those interested in continuing with common sense should read Brian Schwartz's *China off the Beaten Track*, which is otherwise devoted to giving specific instructions for seeing a China invisible from tourist hotels, more cheaply to boot. Strong endorsement of this book is meant less to deprive China of foreign exchange than to gain it additional friends.)

On balance, then, tourism may do more harm than good to the overall population of Third World countries; the benefits that "trickle down" to them are probably just that: trickles.

## What China leaders think.

On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that the present leadership in China is unaware of the shortcomings and dangers of tourism. Although their ranks are thinning rapidly, Deng Xiaoping still has cohorts left who, like him, have been significantly responsible for planning and managing the Chinese economy since 1949. With all its false starts, social upheavals, political nightmares and backsliding, that economy—built on a base devastated by more than a quarter of a century of world and civil wars—has nevertheless fairly consistently continued to feed, clothe, house and provide the rudiments of health care for well over a billion human beings. This accomplishment may be unparalleled in human history, and provides strong evidence that those responsible are not simpletons.

Is there a chance, then, that China may have its tourist cake and eat it too, reaping the profits but not the problems of Hiltonization? The picture is by no means clear, but there are several warrants for cautious optimism.

Several of China's new hotels are joint ventures, meaning that they are jointly financed by some Chinese institution and an overseas investor—usually, but not always, from Hong Kong. Eventually, all of these are to pass solely into Chinese hands. The remainder of the new hotels are already owned and operated by the Chinese themselves.

Thus at least half, and often all of the profits produced by these hotels will remain in the country, and because the Chinese ownership is not private, those profits will not be concentrated in the hands of the few.

Nor will they be concentrated in the capital. As distinct from most other developing countries, China does not have its tourists congregating in the major city. Shanghai, Tianjin, Guangzhou, Guilin, Hangzhou, Kunming, Chengdu, Xian

and other cities besides Beijing receive tens of thousands of visitors each year now. Even Urumqi gets some foreign exchange.

The soils, topography and climates of China are also diverse enough to insure that typically Western foods will not have to be continuously imported. Much land is not arable, but everything from artichokes to zucchini can be grown somewhere in this country, at least in quantities large enough to fill the kitchens of tourist hotels.

In the same way, a potato chip factory or distillery may open one day soon; if Suntory can challenge Seagram's, so can Shanghai. A few oenologists are already giving passing marks to the "Dynasty" label of Chinese wines.

Further, unlike other nations with a tourist industry, the vast bulk of China's tourists—more than 80 percent—are of the same ethnic stock as its citizens. The foreign exchange they provide the ancestral homeland is by no means confined to what they spend when they are present. On the contrary, overseas Chinese send millions of dollars annually to their relatives here; small wonder that the government wishes to guarantee that their visits are good ones.

China may also be able to meet the tourist and industrial West on its own terms in the cultural arena. Bluntly put, the Chinese tradition is older and more continuous than the West's, and its current inheritors outnumber the other side.

Moreover, China's self-imposed isolation from the world economic and political orders after liberation allowed it some breathing space to adapt the culture to new political patterns. There are problems with these patterns both culturally and politically, but this does not imply that the country is unstable in either realm with respect to external forces. Any gambler who believes that polyester, Pac-Man and the Pretenders will do what was altogether beyond the capacities of the Mongol cavalry or the British Navy had better request odds.

A more serious threat is internal. Foreigners are still viewed with some suspicion in China. The idea that they are a corrupting influence shared by Party purists and die-hard Confucians alike.

This is a complex issue that goes beyond cultural and personal interactions between Chinese and tourists. Larger issues enter in, ranging from opening China further to foreign business, to China's further entry into an international economic order that has not been salutary for developing nations lately.

But with respect to those personal interactions, the anti-foreign attitude hit a peak during the Cultural Revolution, even though there were relatively few direct targets for it at that time. Because of China's isolation after 1949, and the wars before, only a small number of Chinese had ever had direct contact with any foreigners, except perhaps for a few soldiers. The prime scapegoat of the late '60s were intellectuals who had studied abroad or at foreign universities in China and middle-class families with relatives overseas.

With more foreigners having come to China in the past three years than in the prior three decades, however, it follows that if personal contacts with foreigners is corrupting, the number of corrupted Chinese is already much higher than it was 15 years ago and is growing higher every day, including everyone from shopkeepers to students, cadres to cabdrivers.

Thus, another Cultural Revolution might well be even more intense, violent and widespread than the last. I do not believe Chinese society as presently constituted could withstand such an onslaught, and therefore hope that the likelihood of history repeating itself decreases with every visa issued: perhaps if virtually all are corrupted, then no one is, and the Chinese will be able to continue to see themselves as what they are, namely, Chinese; and I hope further that the significance of this perspective is not lost on the current Chinese leadership. ■

Henry Rosemont Jr. is professor of philosophy at St. Mary's College in Maryland. He is currently teaching at Fudan University in Shanghai.

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# INPRINT

**Abraham Went Out: A Biography of A.J. Muste**  
By Jo Ann Ooiman Robinson  
Temple University Press,  
341 pp., \$22.50

By Marty Jezer

A.J. Muste (1885-1967) was one of the founders of the contemporary peace movement. His career as a political leader spanned more than half a century. As a young Protestant minister he was ousted from his pulpit for denouncing American participation in World War I. At the time of his death, he was chair of the coalition that organized the first mass demonstrations against the Vietnam war. In between, he was a catalyst of the Ban-the-Bomb movement and a pivotal figure in the labor movement, the civil rights movement and the Marxist left of the '30s.

Jo Ann Robinson, an associate professor at Morgan State, has written the first scholarly account of Muste's life. Rich in detail, it adds to our knowledge of the peace movement and the American left.

"A.J.," as everyone called him, grew up in the Midwest, in a conservative immigrant Dutch family. As a theological student, he was attracted to the social dimensions of the gospel. But if religion was his inspiration, politics was his calling.

In 1919 he was asked by striking workers to lead a textile strike in Lawrence, Mass. In the face of police provocations, Muste persuaded the strikers to respond nonviolently. According to Robinson, a likely massacre was averted and the strike was won. At that time (pre-Gandhi) there was no tradition of nonviolent direct action. Throughout his life, Muste experimented with making nonviolent action a force for political change.

The Lawrence strike catapulted Muste into the labor movement. From 1921 to 1933 he directed the Brookwood Labor College, where rank-and-file workers were sent by their unions for training as organizers. Many Brookwood grads would later become leaders in the CIO.

During the Depression, Muste was a founder of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, which vied with Communists and the Socialist Party in organizing the unemployed and agitating in labor disputes.

Anti-Stalinist but wary of the Socialist Party for what he considered its lack of militancy, Muste founded the American Workers Party, an attempt to join Marxism-Leninism to the American left tradition. What might have been an interesting experiment was compromised when the "Musteites" merged with the Trotskyist movement, becoming involved in sectarian struggles centered on the Soviet Union. Disillusioned with the Marxist left, he returned to pacifism and the church.

As minister of New York's ecumenical Labor Temple during the late '30s, Muste became, in effect, a pastor to the left, using his new pulpit to preach working-class radicalism and his revolutionary interpretation of the so-

*A.J. Muste: he began as an "American Lenin" and ended up one of the founding fathers of the peace movement.*

cial gospel. But his refusal to support World War II brought this project to a quick close.

As head of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the '40s, he threw himself into the struggles of the new generation of war resisters, some of whom—Dave Dellinger and Bayard Rustin are among the most prominent—would become influential left leaders. With Rustin and James Farmer, Muste was instrumental in the founding of the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE). During the war, CORE pioneered the use of nonviolent action to fight Jim Crow laws. But it remained a marginal organization until the student sit-ins of 1960.

Muste's pacifist projects were equally unsuccessful during the post-war period. As early as 1946 Musteites were demonstrating against the atomic bomb. And in 1948 they staged a draft card bur-

ning to protest the draft. But in this period of repression and militarism, the pacifists marched alone.

But Muste persisted. Throughout the Cold War era he cajoled scientists to not cooperate with the military-industrial complex; and within the religious community, he led the fight against Reinhold Niebuhr's Cold War theology. Muste is at least partly responsible for the nuclear pacifism that is now widespread in religious and scientific circles.

When the political climate changed in the mid-'50s, Muste embarked on the most fruitful phase of his life. In 1956 he founded *Liberation* magazine, which put decentralization, non-violence and a Third Camp (opposing the U.S. and USSR) foreign policy on the political agenda. He also initiated the Committee for Nonviolent Action (CN-

VA), which organized small but daring nonviolent demonstrations against the bomb.

Muste, himself, marched in the Sahara as part of an international protest against bomb testing by the French, organized a peace walk from San Francisco to Moscow that culminated with the first-ever ban-the-bomb demonstration in Red Square, and served 30 difficult days in a Nebraska jail for trespassing on a Strategic Air Command missile base.

Muste's activities in the last year of his life (1967, when he was 81) exemplified the breadth of his politics. He demonstrated against the war in front of the U.S. Embassy in Saigon, met with Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi (Ho's peace feeler, conveyed by Muste to LBJ, went unanswered), encouraged draft resistance, was busted for blocking the door to the induction center in New York and was in the thick of planning for the 1967 peace march in New York. According to Robinson, Muste persuaded Martin Luther King to speak out against the war and to participate in this demonstration.

## Rigid strategist.

Muste had little interest in electoral politics or in the sort of grassroots community organiz-

*When Muste's brand of non-violent direct action tactics failed to end the war in Vietnam, it was the commitment to non-violence rather than direct action that was called into question.*

ing that can mobilize specific groups into political activity. For him, politics meant nonviolent direct action: marches, rallies, civil disobedience and confrontation. And he tended to see non-violence as an end in itself. His familiar dictum, "There is no way to peace, peace is the way," is a sensible rejoinder to the "Peace is our business" slogan of deterrent theory advocates. But it is hardly adequate as a complete political strategy.

During the '60s, left politics tended to be defined as direct action. When nonviolence didn't end the war it was the commitment to nonviolence, not the limitations of direct action, that was called into question. There is a well-worn path between nonviolent confrontation and the violent hooliganism of the Weathermen and similar sects. Muste's emphasis on dramatic confrontation left the peace movement with no other arena for political activity.

In the '30s, the author tells us, Muste was seen as aspiring to become the "American Lenin." He seemed never to have lost his revolutionary fervor (admirable in the abstract, but a problem in a period like the '60s when revolutionary fantasies were in the air) or his notion of a vanguard cadre acting in behalf of "the people." In the '30s, Muste presumed the Communists to be the vanguard of the working class. In the late '50s and the '60s, he envisioned radical pacifists acting as the conscience of the nation. In both periods, he showed disdain for representative democracy and programmatic politics.

Robinson's narrative brings out the contradiction in Muste's life. Profoundly fair-minded and democratic as a political leader (his charisma was rooted in his integrity and his comradely treatment of both allies and rivals), he seemed to have little patience with the evolutionary contours of the democratic process. Leftists would do well to emulate his style of leadership, but to avoid complete commitment to his notion of direct action politics. ■ *Marty Jezer, a former CNVA member and a staff writer for Liberation magazine, is author of The Dark Ages: Life in the United States, 1945-1960.*

## A.J. MUSTE

# Non-violence American-style





By Joel Schechter

GLOVER, VT

Since the Bread and Puppet Theater was founded 20 years ago, its masks, banners and huge puppets have regularly added pageantry to American peace demonstrations. Its papier-mache and cloth cast of characters includes Uncle Fatso, a fat, cigar-wielding capitalist in a red, white and blue top hat; giant white peace birds that float high above crowds and mournful masks with faces resembling Vietnamese peasants.

The troupe, founded by Peter Schumann, also performs puppet plays on international tours—it was in London during October for International Disarmament Week and will spend much of November in Chicago, doing performances at various sites. But its largest event, staged annually at Bread and Puppet's farm in Glover, Vt., is called "Our Domestic Resurrection Circus" and shows the breadth of the theater's work.

This year's Circus offered a variety of popular entertainments: poetry readings, music, juggling and plays with puppets of all sizes. More than 10,000 spectators roamed green fields and forest participating free of charge in the two-day pastoral celebration of countercultural art and antiwar politics.

The festival title's reference to "domestic resurrection" implies a renewal of life at home, here on earth, rather than otherworldly religious salvation. But a pantheistic reverence for life is evident in some of the Bread and Puppet scenarios praising earth, water and sky at a time when the ecosphere is threatened.

Each day began with a series of "sideshows," short plays and other events located all around the farm. One five-minute scenario, "Bubble Trouble" showed Uncle Sam's greedy relative, Uncle Fatso, playing with cardboard cutouts of American battleships in a large cutout of a bathtub. We were told the ships were threatening to invade Nicaragua and the plug ought to be pulled immediately from Uncle Fatso's tub. It was, and Fatso went down the drain with his ships.

Nearby, another Uncle Fatso puppet under a grove of trees was



## THEATER

## A three-ring resurrection

reciting fragments of recent Reagan pronouncements on Central America to jazz saxophone accompaniment. Some of his lines had appeared in a presidential radio broadcast only a day earlier, and the ease with which White House statements loaned themselves to parody by a papier-mache figurehead was startling.

In one of the most amusing sideshows, comedian Paul Zaloom and 20 pre-teenage children presented a satire of their relationship to parents. Kids played all the roles, ridiculing themselves and adults both, in what could be the start of a liberated children's theater movement.

Bread and Puppet's plays of-

## ART»ENTERTAINMENT



Peter Schumann

*Bread and Puppet Theater's two-day festival often seemed a large-scale parody of the everyday, workday world.*

ten resemble children's stories: simple, and vividly imaginative fantasies, which rarely approach agit-prop didacticism, even when they are political allegories. The Circus offered more than plays, however. The setting constituted an alternative, cartoon world where for two days almost everything, including food, was free. The event often seemed a large-scale parody of the everyday, workday world.

For example, a "Bread Store" on the farm offered free, delicious sourdough bread to all its customers. Behind the wooden counter a baker pretended to compete for customers, advertising the virtues of his garlic-buttered slices over the plain slices around the corner. More than 6,000 ears of cooked corn were also given away. Bread and Puppet Theater lives up to its title fully, providing food as well as art.

The main attraction each afternoon was another form of parody: a papier-mache, cloth and wood circus menagerie, complete with dancing bears in tutus, tigers jumping through a ring of (red paper, not burning) flames, Olympic games with giant pup-

pets competing at boxing and shot-put, and Peter Schumann, dressed as a friendly Uncle Sam, dancing on stilts 30 feet high. The Fall of the Roman Empire also took place, briefly, in a comic history pageant featuring "bread and circus" gladiators thrown to lions, Caesar assassinated and Nero fiddling.

"Bread and Circus" is a term often associated with the Roman Empire's spectacles designed to placate civil discontent about the government. But Bread and Puppet's bread and circus offers just the opposite sort of entertainment—which may account for its parody of an ancient Roman festival this year.

In the evening a more serious pageant introduced puppets resembling the farmer and wife in Grant Woods' famous "American Gothic" painting. This ordinary (though 25 feet tall) couple was so saddened by the parade of militarism passing before them that the wife set fire to a lifesize papier-mache jet plane, which burned into the night as a finale.

Joel Schechter teaches at the Yale School of Drama.

## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Beth Maschinot.

## CHICAGO, IL

## October 24-November 30

Second City Socialist School Fall '83 classes: Gramsci and Socialist Strategy, Mondays Oct. 24-Nov. 14; The U.S. in Central America and the Caribbean from the 1890s to 1983, Tuesdays Oct. 25-Nov. 15; Socialist Feminism, Wednesdays Oct. 26-Nov. 30. All classes held at the DSA office, 1300 W. Belmont, at 7:30 p.m. Registration: \$10 per course, \$3 per session. For more information, call (312) 871-1986.

## November 5-6

DSA Midwest Conference on Socialist Feminism will be held at Cross-Currents, 3206 N. Wilton. Speakers will include Barbara Ehrenreich, Rosemary Reuther, Zillah Eisenstein. Sessions on feminization of poverty, feminism and the family, women of color, women and political action, feminist strategy, and more. Registration: \$25 at door, \$20 for pre-registrants, \$5 for unemployed. Free housing and childcare available for pre-registrants. For more information, call (312) 871-7700.

## NEW YORK, NY

## October 28

You are invited to a celebration of 17 years of WIN magazine. Dancing, food, auction of WIN memorabilia, Cash Bar (liquor and juice). 8:00 p.m., Fotografia, 21 Howard St., NYC (north of Canal, east of Broadway), \$10-\$100 (you decide, there's a \$22,000 debt). In celebration of Halloween come dressed as you

were when you first subscribed or worked for WIN, or like your favorite pacifist celebrity or how you were at your most memorable protest or like your favorite WIN cover or as you are today (after all, we haven't changed that much). Tickets available at: WIN, 326 Livingston St., Brooklyn, NY 11217, (212) 624-8337, or War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St., NYC (212) 228-0450.

## SAN FRANCISCO, CA

## October 29

"Whose First Amendment?" an evening symposium on telecommunications and the freedom of speech will feature Les Brown Channels editor; Herberg Schiller, author of *Who Knows Information in the Age of the Fortune 500*, and Harold Farrow, an attorney nationally recognized for successfully representing the cable industry before the U.S. Supreme Court. 6:00 p.m. Lone Mountain Conference Center. Symposium will be preceded by a day-long conference,

"Media and Technology: The Information Frontier," also at Lone Mountain (Turk St., between Parker and Masonic). For information and conference registration, call Media Alliance. (415) 441-2557.

## YOUNGSTOWN, OH

## October 30

Charlie King and Todd Smith Concert. 7:00, Unitarian Church, Elm and Illinois. Tickets \$3.00 in advance, \$3.50 at door. Children under 12 free. Send check before Oct. 22 to Good Karma Food Coop, 62 Pyatt St., Youngstown, OH 44502, or call (216) 747-9368. Sponsors: Workers Solidarity Club, Youngstown Peace Council, Cooperative Campus Ministry, Good Karma.

## NASHVILLE, TN

## November 5-6

DSA Southern Regional School on Socialist Feminism at Continental Inn, 711 Union St. Speakers will in-

clude Stella Nowicki of *Union Maids*. Sessions on women in the South, feminization of poverty, process and women's leadership within DSA, local feminist organizing, feminist strategy, and more. Registration: \$25 at the door, \$20 for pre-registrants, \$5 for unemployed. Free childcare available for pre-registrants. For more information, call (312) 871-7700.

## TERRE HAUTE, IN

## November 12

1983 Eugene V. Debs Award Dinner, honoring Studs Terkel, presentation speaker Joe Glazer, "Labor's Troubadour." Reception at 5:30 p.m., dinner at 6:30 p.m. Award presentation and acceptance address to follow dinner. Hulman Civic Center, Indiana State University. Tickets \$15.00 per person. For information call or write: Eugene V. Debs Foundation, P.O. Box 843, Terre Haute, IN 47808, (812) 232-2163.



# Olmos

Continued from page 16

pressed. It also satisfied his sense of what acting is—building complete, rounded characters whose personalities inform the action. It may seem obvious that actors like to create characters, but in most movies they don't usually get much of a chance because of prefab plots and top-down production terms.

The role of Cortez is tricky, because it's the least dramatic one in the film. Contrary to the legends that grow up around him, he is just a simple cowhand caught by circumstance. Olmos makes Cortez simple without being simplistic, oppressed without being pitiful.

The difference between the roles of Cortez and El Pachuco couldn't be starker. In fact, *Zoot Suit* may be Olmos' least typical work. El Pachuco is a symbol, a myth—the image of the Latin *macho* who haunts the young hero of Luis Valdez' swinging musical about Chicano subculture in wartime Los Angeles.

*Zoot Suit* gave Olmos an image as "that Hispanic character actor." But the cagey little guy in *Blade Runner*—how could he have been the giant of *Zoot Suit*? For Olmos, that's a compliment, as well as a cautionary comment on the pit-

falls of playing ethnic roles. "My characters comment on the situations *they're* in, not on me. In *Blade Runner* they told me, 'You have to play an ethnic.' So I thought, by the year 2020 there are gonna be *mongrels* out there. So that character had German blue eyes, a Japanese slant to them, Chinese yellow skin, a French-Spanish moustache, an Italian punk haircut and he spoke 10 languages."

When you're an ethnic character actor who believes in creating flesh-and-blood roles, the characters have to come from somewhere real. You need a special relationship with the worlds from which these characters come. And that is why Olmos is now everybody's favorite high school assembly speaker, prisoner entertainer and community organization special event feature.

It started after *Zoot Suit*—the play—opened in 1978. A local high school principal called him up to speak, and Olmos discovered that talking to kids was a high. Word got around. "And pretty soon every day it was something new. The Japanese Optimists Club of America called me up, out of nowhere! I was caught in the middle of a gigantic machine that's really hungry." These days he is likely to be talking to as many as 4,000 people a week, and always for free.

If this sounds like social work to you, it's more like research to Olmos. "When I get in front of a camera people say, 'What acting class do you go to? And I

say, 'Well, I go to, uh, *psychodrama*.'"

After public television waived its claim on *Gregorio Cortez*'s theatrical rights, Olmos, along with other coworkers on the production, started showing the film for free to the Hispanic people it was made for, trying to raise interest in theatrical distribution. Embassy has now picked it up, and along the way some tens of thousands of people have seen it in those free showings, sometimes weeping at the end, sometimes clapping and sometimes both.

"Sometimes Hispanics ask why Cortez didn't resist more heroically, like in the legend," says Olmos. "If my research had shown he was the kind of guy who rode to the top of the hill and took a shot at the sheriff, I would have played him like that. But he was a simple man; he had canny survival skills, but he wasn't Errol Flynn. Hispanic women often don't like it that Cortez cries—their image of a hero isn't of a weak man."

All this community work by an ethnic star is all very well and good, but surely the question arises: What about my career? Not only do free speaking engagements do nothing for the bank account, they might dissipate Olmos' star aura.

"I hope so," says Olmos. "I hope we get to where people say, 'Oh that's just Ed,' and I can walk down the street. Look at poor Al Pacino. The other day I said, 'Al, let's go to the ballgame.' He says, 'I can't do that, man, I'll get killed

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out there. Last time I went to a Mets game they put Welcome Al Pacino on the scoreboard and I had to wait for a home run to dash out of there!"

So Olmos is not sitting around waiting for the next big break. He's living cheap and working hard making the kinds of connections he needs to get his work done. He drives a '69 VW Beetle and takes home a paycheck that looks more like an honorarium. "When they look at my car, people say, 'Have you ever heard of time payments?' But I figure if I can't buy it I can't afford it. My business has nothing to do with how good you are—I'm never going to be asked for the Robert Redford roles. And you want to have the freedom to refuse a role that's not right."

Still, there are exciting possibilities. One of them is a project to turn the recent Clifford Irving novel *Tom Mix and Pancho Villa* into a movie. The notion of bringing two such different legends to life has appeal, and not just for professional reasons. Olmos is the great grandson of Enrique Flores Magon, one of the intellectual guiding lights of the Mexican revolution.

Living cheap and going out to prisons and arranging free showings finally comes down, for Olmos, to staying in shape. "You want to tell the truth, and it's like a muscle. You gotta practice so that when you really need it, you can be strong enough to use it." ■

## CLASSIFIED

### PUBLICATIONS

THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC, voice of socialist industrial unionism, speaks loud and clear, with a program for a Socialist Society, 4 issues \$3.00, P.O. Box 80T, New York, NY 10159.

"CAPITALISM and Unemployment" Free 61-page pamphlet with \$4/1-year subscription to biweekly Marxist newspaper. The People (T), 914 Industrial Ave., Palo Alto, CA 94303.

THE JEWS OF THE DIASPORA or the Vocation of a Minority by Richard Marienstras. Sophisticated critique of Zionist and Leninist approaches to Jewish peoplehood from progressive perspective. \$2.50. Medem Jewish Socialist Group. P.O. Box 564, Brooklyn, NY 11217 (Checks payable to Jewish Youth Bund).

HANDBOOK OF GREAT LABOR QUOTATIONS—for writers, speakers, rank and filers. \$6.95 ppd. Hillside Books, P.O. Box 601-I, Lynnfield, MA 01940.

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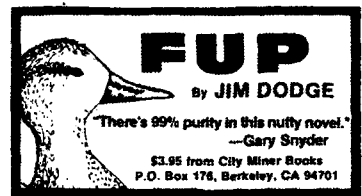
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Illustration: Miles DeCoster

Chicano actor  
Eddie Olmos, star  
of *Zoot Suit*, and  
now *Gregorio Cortez*,  
has achieved Hollywood  
success on his  
own terms.

By Pat Aufderheide

LOS ANGELES

**E**DWARD JAMES OLMOS, 36 years old, became an overnight success in Hollywood with his role of El Pachuco in the 1980 movie *Zoot Suit*. Of course, it only took him 15 years to do it.

But suddenly the Chicano guy who had grown up among barrio gangs, worked in every kind of job and gone out to the fields with Teatro Campesino was everybody's favorite ethnic character actor. You might remember him as that little guy who goes around folding origami figures in *Blade Runner* or the mysterious Mohawk in *Wolfen*.

Now, people in the Land of the Unreturned Phone Call are calling him—and getting no reply. In the last two years, Eddie Olmos has turned down half a million dollars worth of work. At the moment he's just too busy to get rich, or famous in the way that overnight successes get famous.

Eddie Olmos is trying to make polycultural pop art in a culture where customs

are turned into commodities before you can say "pachuco." He's out there making sure that people see and use his work, especially the film he thinks is the most interesting so far—*The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez* now being distributed by Embassy Pictures nationally, after a 1982 premiere on public television.

*Gregorio Cortez* began several years ago, when the National Council of the Chicano organization La Raza and producer Moctezuma Esparza got a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to make a movie about a legendary Mexican outlaw. Hardly a household name outside the Southwest, Gre-

gorio Cortez is a legend on the Texas border, where he fled in 1901 after being accused of shooting a sheriff. The Texas Rangers finally got him, and he was tried and sentenced, finally pardoned 12 years later. The capture was great publicity for the Rangers, and the chase became a heroic saga for Mexican-Americans, who turned the story into a *corrido*, or folk song, which is still sung today.

#### No heroes, no villains.

*Gregorio Cortez* is a film that is "about" frontier justice and racism the way *Grand Illusion* is "about" war and *Rashomon* is "about" crime. It has no heroes, no villains. Using the false objectivity of film, it shows the shifting perspectives of different characters in a tragedy of crosscultural misunderstanding. The legends, both white and Mexican, get debunked and the real-life drama of the old West's working poor people emerges.

What was exciting for Olmos was that the movie wasn't about events, but about experience. A film that didn't prejudge its characters, it satisfied his sense of how cultural and racial conflict is best ex-

*Continued on page 15*

**DON'T CALL HIM—HE'LL CALL YOU**